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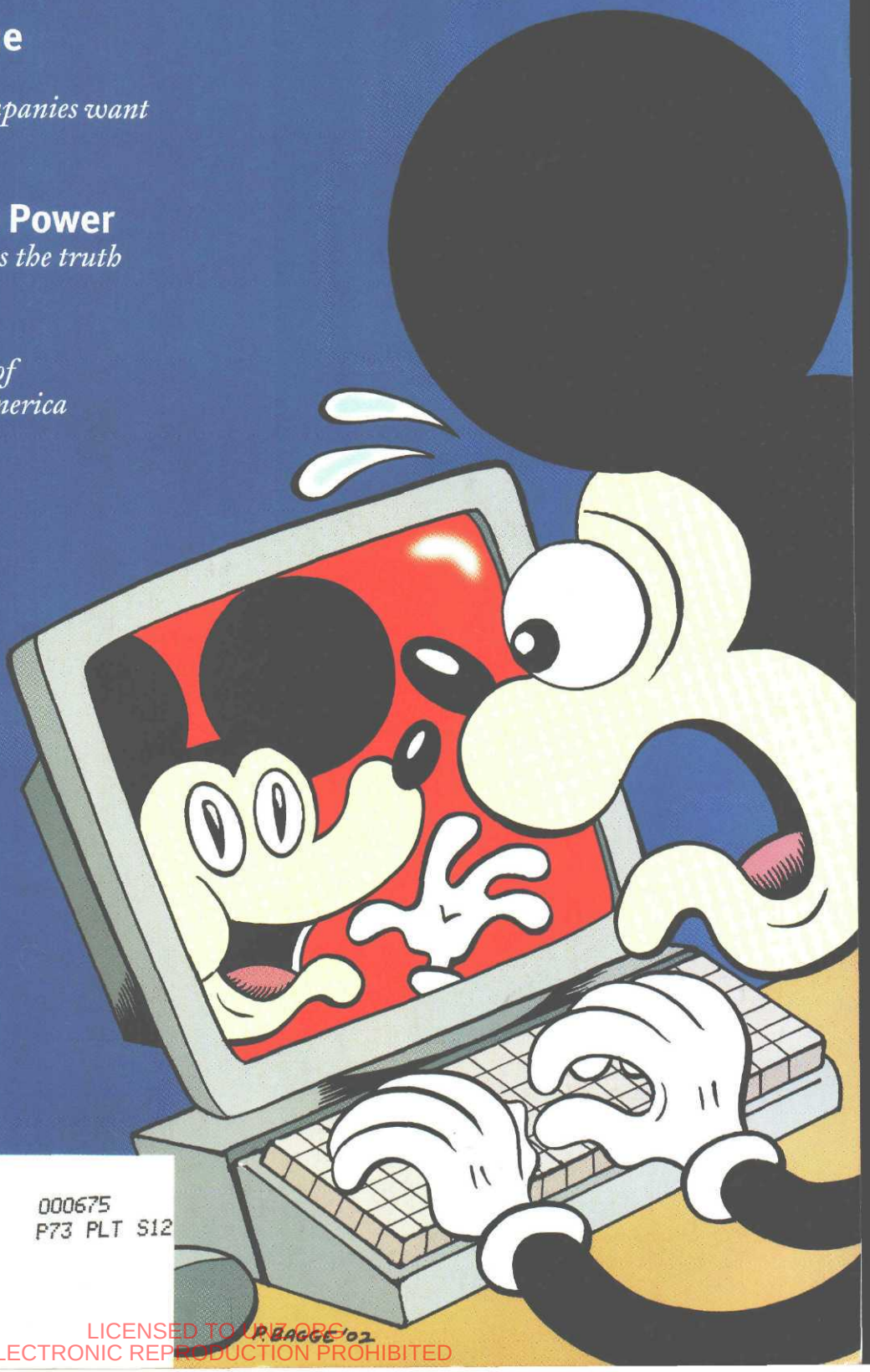
Why entertainment companies want to hack your computer

Speaking Lies to Power
How Ralph Nader fudges the truth

Ill-Treated
The continuing history of psychiatric abuses in America



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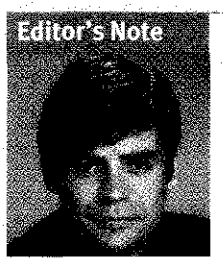

RECORDED MUSIC PRETTY much dropped out of my life during the 1990s. After years of spending most of my disposable income buying music and much of my personal and professional life listening to it, I don't think I purchased more than a handful of records or CDs during the whole decade. These days, I'm back to something like my old habits. What ended my long quiet period speaks to the issues surrounding Mike Godwin's cover piece, "Hollywood vs. the Internet: Why entertainment companies want to hack your computer" (page 26). What Godwin dubs "the Content Faction" is understandably scared to death of computer users' ability to make and disseminate nearly perfect copies of music, video, books, and other copyrighted material. But he argues that in pursuing a repressive legislative and technological fix—one that might change the very way computers are made—the Content Faction may well shoot itself in the foot.

My own experience suggests he's right. Back in the late 1980s, I worked at a couple of now-defunct music magazines: a heavy metal mag called *Metallix* that promised readers, "It'll rock you to shreds!" and an American version of the British pop mag *Smash Hits*. Between professional contacts and personal penchants, I soon amassed a sizable music collection that included over 5,000 records, at least 1,000 prerecorded tapes, and hundreds of relatively novel CDs.

Then I decided to run away from my low-level job in the rock 'n' roll circus, where journalists are the equivalent of the clowns who follow after elephants with a shovel and wheelbarrow. I went to grad school, a move that both ended my ride on the industry gravy train and robbed me of disposable income for a number of years.

Over time, I sold off parts of my collection and gave away most of the rest, perpetually in need of cash and tired of lugging milk crates heavy with LPs from apartment to apartment and city to city. When I could finally afford to buy music again, my interest had waned, partly because I couldn't find an easy way to hunt down what I wanted. And as I spent an increasing number of hours staring at a computer screen, I couldn't find a format that fit well with my new work habits.

Until Napster. I came to the controversial file sharing system in late 1999, a few months after it was first up and running. Napster gave me a quick and easy way to remember what I was missing, and I started downloading songs, both old and new. Soon, I was buying music again and piping it through my computer, most typically as MP3s I ripped from new CDs I bought and then put on my hard drive in personalized playlists—uses that will almost certainly be impossible if the Content Faction gets its way.

Had Napster, whose site remains dark as it works out a licensing arrangement with the big record labels, not existed, I would never have found my way back to buying music. From any number of conversations I've had and accounts I've read, my experience is far from *sui generis*. Indeed, there are strong reasons to believe that the outlaw Napster actually increased the demand for fully legit music.

Yet as Godwin notes, another Napster is precisely what media companies want to avoid at all cost. Without getting into important questions of intellectual property rights, this much seems likely: If the entertainment industry succeeds in strictly limiting how consumers can manipulate the content they buy, consumers will pay in the short term. But in a world in which people have come to expect individualized control and proliferating choices in everything from personal lifestyles to entertainment, it will be the companies who pay the steeper price in the long term.

—Nick Gillespie

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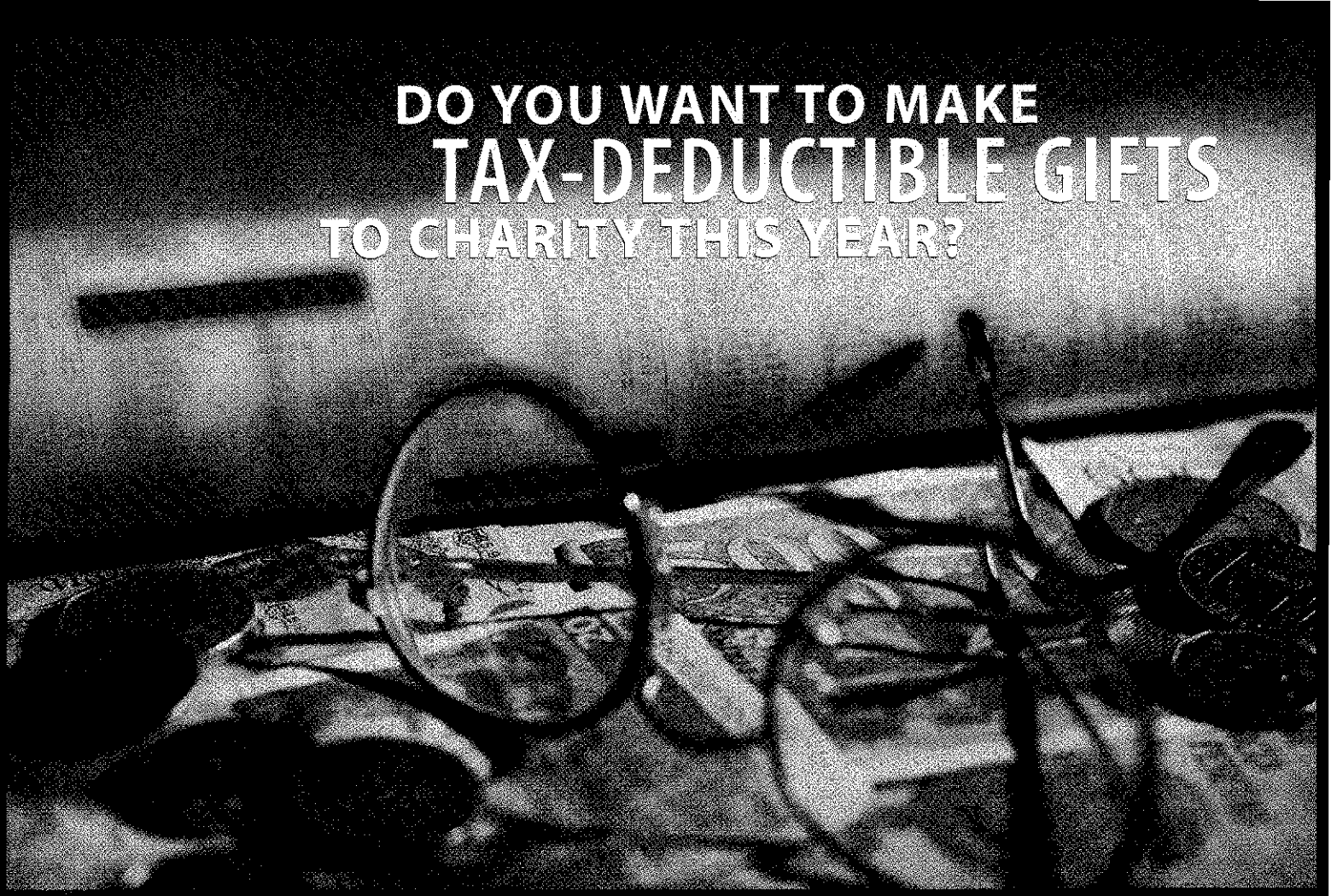

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Operating out of Morristown, New Jersey, psychologist and lawyer STANTON PEELE is a one-man commando unit whose uniform is a signature Hawaiian shirt. His target is the drug and alcohol treatment establishment, and he lobs his latest grenade in "Hungry for the Next Fix" (page 32). Peele, co-author of *Resisting 12-Step Coercion* (See Sharp Press), specializes in assailing the "mock medicalism and mock moralism" of those who preach that only abstinence can beat alcoholism. Between battles, Peele doles out gentle advice about addiction to readers of his Web site, www.peele.net.

"I find Dr. Laura endlessly fascinating," admits ANA MARIE COX, who analyzes a new book by the dour grand madam of radio therapy in "I'm OK, You Suck" (page 53). Cox has never phoned Dr. Laura for wisdom, preferring instead to learn by living. A former editor at *Suck*, *Mother Jones*, and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Cox was recently hired—and fired—as a senior editor at the liberal monthly *The American Prospect*. The therapeutic lesson she takes away from the experience: "That's the last time I want to be brought on a publication to make it younger and more hip. It's a recipe for total disaster." At home in Washington, D.C., she's now either freelancing or unemployed, depending on her mood.

Living in Washington state and attending college in Canada, JEREMY LOTT spends more time than most Americans crossing the border into the Great White North. Last fall, the trip took up to three hours a visit. Yet in "Maple Leaf Rag," he argues counterintuitively that the ultimate effect of 9/11 on the border will be to bring it down (page 61). Lott, a former editor of the Web magazines *Spintech* and *The American Partisan*, says it was proximity and price that drew him to British Columbia's Trinity Western University, where he's a senior studying religion. Life in Canada has other perks, he notes: "You can still smoke in the malls."

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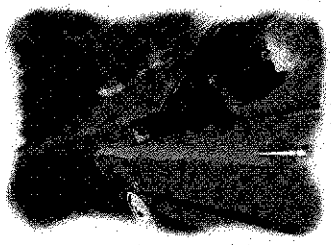

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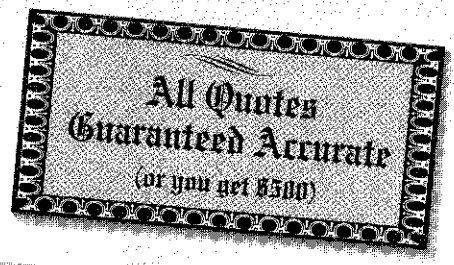

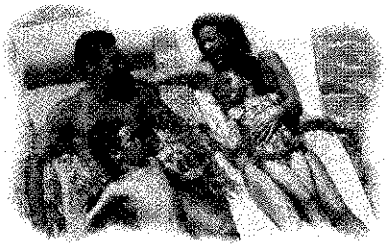

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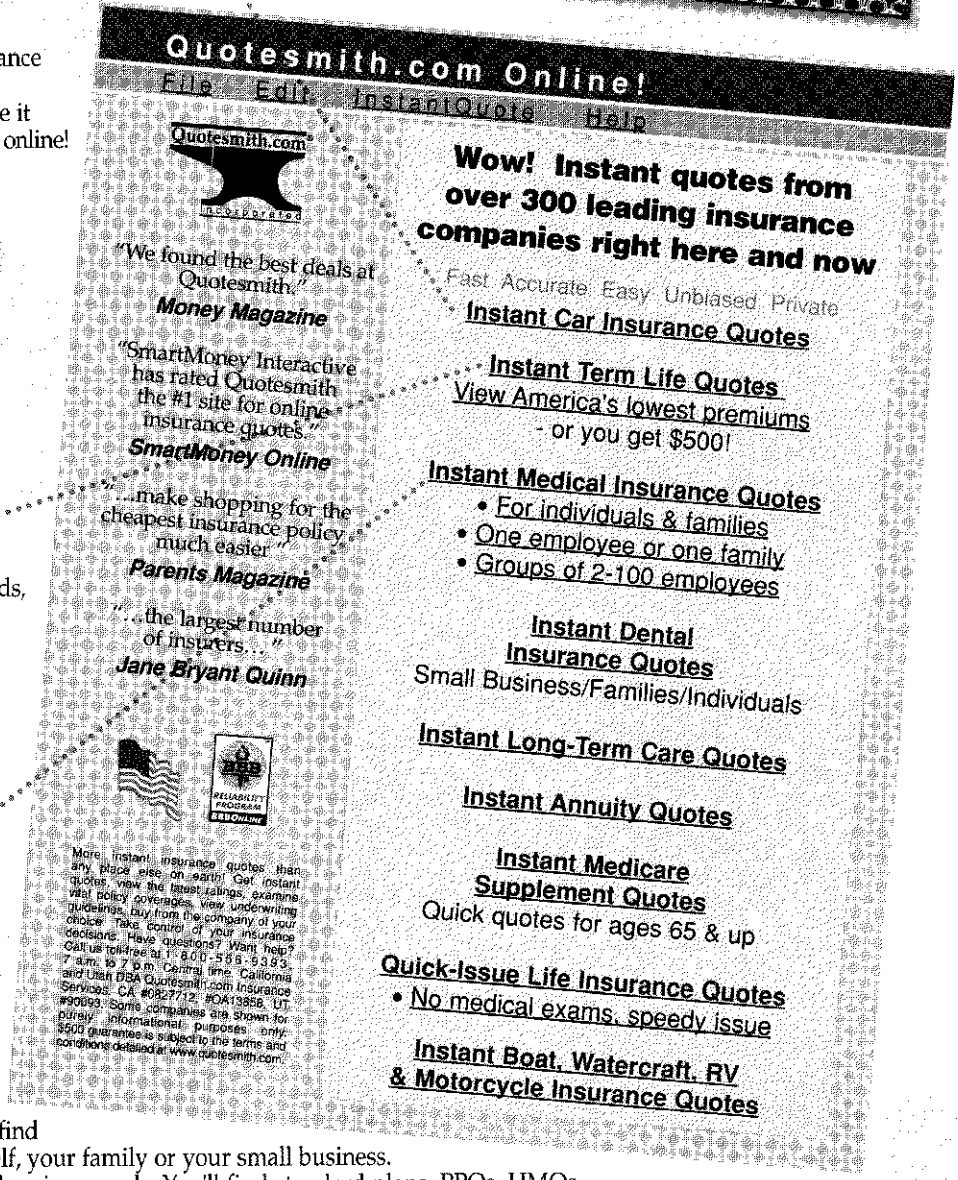
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The Media and G.I. Joe

I loved Chris Bray's "The Media and G.I. Joe" (February). But you should have given Bray a look at the cover. He probably could have told you that G.I. Joe is carrying a close replica of a Kalashnikov AK-47, the symbolic weapon of the Soviet Union, its clients, and all insurgents since 1947. Osama bin Laden is usually photographed carrying a similar one.

Stephen Bodio
Magdalena, NM

The media's typical anti-military stance tends to result in willful ignorance. My first encounter with this was the reporting on the Kent State shootings. The caption of one photo read "National Guard officer pointing his pistol at the demonstrators," while the photo clearly showed his M1911A1 .45ACP pistol in full retraction with a case in the air. It had clearly just been aimed and fired, but the editors, in their profession's self-enforced ignorance of firearms and the military, missed a much more significant caption.

Tom W. Glaser
Miami, FL

As a former U.S. Army captain, I was delighted by Chris Bray's hypothesis that the media typically lack a basic understanding of how the military works. Unfortunately, Bray's naive presentation unwittingly proves his point.

For starters, "two years and 17 weeks as an infantryman" in the peacetime U.S. Army hardly provides Bray with the grounding needed to tackle the topic. As an enlisted "11B," Bray would have been one of a multitude of "cogs in a machine," to borrow a David Horowitz quote Bray uses, representing a view to which I don't necessarily subscribe. To put it in civilian terms, the assignment was like asking a former IBM mailroom clerk to write an article about the company's intellectual property portfolio.

Aware of his thin credentials, Bray searches out experts. Yet instead of interviewing policy makers at the major military think tanks such as the Army Command and General Staff College, Bray talks to instructors at West Point and their wet-behind-the-ears students. West Point is basically a four-year college that provides a minority of the junior officers to the U.S. Army (the vast majority come from the ROTC program). The few West Pointers who eventually make it to the general ranks will have first gone through years of further academic training on the military arts. To expect that instructors at the school, much less their students, would be at the leading edge of military doctrine would be far off the mark.

Given that, Bray's sweeping conclusion that "there's an extraordinary disconnect, somewhere within the culture of the military, in which leading-edge ideas...are getting to the really sharp colonels...and no one else" struck me as an example of the same media disconnect that he's writing about. While the statement may be true, I found little credible support for it in the article.

Colin P. Cahoon
Dallas, TX

Charter Rebuff

The thesis of Joanne Jacobs' article "Threatened By Success" (February)—that the "success" of Edison Charter Academy should be gauged by performance and not ideology—crumbles when she reveals in her sidebar ("Watching the Numbers") that the most recent test scores for Edison placed the school dead last out of 75 San Francisco elementary schools.

The excuses the Edison community offers for this failure likewise do not

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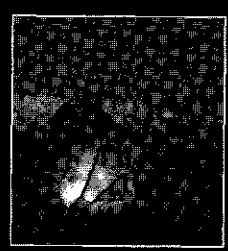

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stand up to scrutiny. Principal Vince Matthews blames "all those late-night board meetings, all the media tours," saying, "we could have used that time to educate students." I went along on one of those tours, and there was little to no impact on the students' education. We visited several classrooms, each for no more than five minutes. Similar tours for prospective parents take place at every San Francisco public school, including my kids' school, all year. The tour was led by the school's community resource director, not by teachers, the principal, or anyone who would have "used that time to educate students."

Blaming poor test scores on the "late-night board meetings" is even more preposterous. Students took the STAR test last spring during the week of April 16. The test is designed to measure what the students have learned during the 12 months since they were last tested—in this case, since April 2000. The Edison charter issue was first introduced at the February 13, 2001, meeting. There were exactly three more school board meetings before the week of STAR testing. Could four late nights over the course of eight weeks really wipe out a year of learning?

Dana Woldow
San Francisco

Joanne Jacobs is accurate in one respect: The local, national, and international press vigorously bashed the San Francisco school board over its move against Edison. Edison-generated references to "a successful school in a failing district" and to "soaring" test scores appeared far and wide.

Community members soon pointed out that Edison never scored anywhere near district-wide averages—and that it fell to dead last after 2000, when the California Department of Education tightened a loophole that had allowed schools to exclude a high number of students from test scores. The media response was simply to stop covering the issue.

If Edison is allowed to scramble for excuses, should traditional public schools be given that break as well? Wouldn't a conscientious journalist blush to use the word *success* when the best available gauge indicates failure? And most of all, should ideological fervor outweigh the interests of Edison Charter Academy's children, 400-some guinea pigs stuck in their failed school in the hope that they can shore up the privatization movement by doing better next year?

Caroline Grannan
San Francisco

Joanne Jacobs replies: Edison Schools Inc. took over San Francisco's worst elementary school, reversing the decline in test scores. Nobody expected Edison Charter Academy to raise scores to the district average in a few years. But the charter school qualified for a state award in 2000 by raising scores while testing nearly all students.

Despite the improvement, the San Francisco school board tried to revoke the charter. The academy's principal, teachers, parents, and students mobilized to defend the school last spring and won the battle in June.

Spring 2001 test scores, reported in the fall, were lower than the previous year. The reasons are unclear.

Correction
Ruben Martinez's book *Crossing Over* was misidentified in "Porous Border" (March). We regret the error.

Three Priests and a Rabbi

I no sooner finished reading Chris Bray's "The Media and G.I. Joe" than I stumbled onto Peter Bagge's "Christian Rock" (February). What an unfortunate juxtaposition for Bagge.

Talk about your "haze of cultural disconnection" sliding into "naive condemnation." As a practicing Roman Catholic, I realize there are many amusing and inconsistent things about religion in general and Christianity in particular, especially when seen from the point of view of the secular humanist. But if one is to make fun of this belief system, please make it funny. Superficial smugness does not cut it.

I learned that Bagge knows neither Christianity nor rock. And the first rule of writing is....

Mark Kristy
Hettinger, ND

Teen Demons

Thanks to Chris Lehmann for getting the statistics straight on adolescents ("Teen Demon Tracts," February). My husband stuck the article under my nose knowing that I am a sucker for such alarmist books, and that each one would have ended up on my Amazon wish list. And considering statistics was the only non-A grade I earned in school, I would probably would have believed every word.

I've always felt that a person could handle anything out in the big cruel world if he had someone at home who thought that he was OK. So I would agree with Lehmann's "non-Buddhist homily," charity begins at home. And for all those OK adolescents with baby boomer parents reading such nonsense, I might relay the Cheap Trick lyric, "Mommy's all right, daddy's all right, they just seem a little weird."

Susan LaBrier
Via e-mail

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Presidential Commission Shocks White House: Recommends Marijuana Should Be 'Decriminalized'*

Washington, DC - A Presidential commission's report recommends that marijuana be legalized.

The Commission concluded that marijuana users "are essentially indistinguishable from their non-marijuana using peers by any fundamental criterion other than their marijuana use."

They found that, "Neither the marijuana user nor the drug itself can be said to constitute a danger to public safety."

The Commission recommended "Decriminalization of possession of marijuana for personal use on both the state and federal levels."

The Commission's findings caught many by surprise since both the President and the former Republican governor of Pennsylvania who chaired the Commission have reputations for tough 'law and order' approaches to drug law enforcement.

The President refused to read the report. He said in a news conference, "I am against legalizing marijuana. Even if the Commission does recommend that it be legalized, I will not follow that recommendation."

*** The Shafer Commission issued its report on marijuana policy on March 22, 1972-30 years ago. President Nixon ignored the scientific advice he was given. The Netherlands, which had a similar commission, did not. Today, marijuana use in Holland is half that of the U.S.[1]**

Over 100,000 Americans die annually from consumption of alcohol.[2]
None (0) die from consumption of marijuana.[3]
734,497 arrests were made for marijuana in 2000.[4] Countless families are destroyed.

Is criminalizing marijuana use sensible public policy? Is it time for marijuana to be treated like alcohol?

Kevin B. Zeese, President, Common Sense for Drug Policy
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[1] Netherlands: Lifetime prevalence of marijuana use ages 12-up, 15.6%; past month, 2.5% (source: Abraham, Manja D., et al., "Licit and Illicit Drug Use in the Netherlands, 1997" (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Center for Drug Research, Sept. 1999); US: lifetime prevalence of marijuana use ages 12-up, 34.2%; past month, 4.8% (source: SAMHSA, US Dept. of Health and Human Services, "Summary of Findings from the 2000 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse (Rockville, MD: SAMHSA, Sept. 2001), p. 132, Table F.2, from the web at http://www.samhsa.gov/oas/NHSDA/2kNHSDA/2kNHSDA.htm.

[2] "Number of deaths and age-adjusted death rates per 100,000 population for categories of alcohol-related mortality, United States and States, 1979-96," National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, from the web at http://www.niaaa.nih.gov/databases/armort01.txt.

[3] Reports of the Drug Abuse Warning Network show no deaths attributed to marijuana; see also Joy, Janet E., et al., "Marijuana and Medicine: Assessing the Science Base," Institute of Medicine, (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1999); and US Dept. of Justice, Drug Enforcement Administration, "In the Matter of Marijuana Rescheduling Petition," Docket #86-22, Sept. 6, 1988, p. 57.

[4] Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Report, "Crime in America 2000" (Washington, DC: US Dept. of Justice, Oct. 2001).

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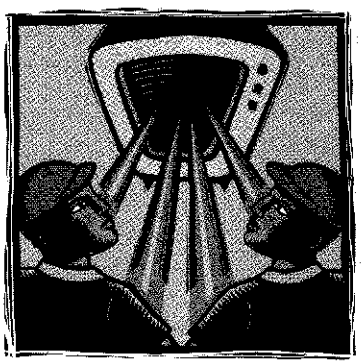
Artificial bust; not-so-green architecture; trademark ad absurdum; watching the kiddies; and Bush's fake volunteer legions

Cleaning up TV

Copps on Patrol

Sara Rimensnyder

RANKLED BY RACY television and by radio shock jocks, Michael J. Copps, one of four commissioners at the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), has called on broadcasters to adopt a voluntary code of conduct.



In a February 4 *USA Today* op-ed piece, Copps warned radio, TV, and cable executives that "continued intransigence"—failure to slap industry-wide restrictions on "sexual material, violence, liquor and drug use, even on excessive advertising" by Easter—could mean "the government may have to halt the race to the bottom." (It's worth noting that the FCC has no power to regulate content on cable television, which doesn't use the public airwaves.)

Fortunately, Copps is correct: Broadcasters have resisted the idea of instituting even a voluntary code. One radio and TV executive estimates that 90 percent of the profession is solidly against top-level restrictions on what stations can broadcast. Years ago, the industry did have such a code. It was abandoned after the Justice Department charged that portions of it violated antitrust laws.

Says Dennis Wharton, a senior vice president at the National Association of Broadcasters: "I would dispute the ['race to the bottom'] comment. With the multi-channel world out there, you can find every type of programming on broadcast television, from family programming ...to something like *NYPD Blue*."

Copps' threat to censor the airwaves appears to be confined to feisty op-ed pieces, at least for the moment. Nevertheless, he has the industry's attention. "When a commissioner speaks, broadcasters listen," says Wharton. "We'd be stupid not to listen, in particular when they have the power ultimately to pull a broadcast license. That's a lot of power." ▮

Privatizing land management

Freeing Forests

Brian Doherty

IT WAS JUST a suggestion in one paragraph of President Bush's proposed 2003 budget, but it has already generated many pages of controversy.

The idea has become known as "charter forests" (analogous to charter schools): allowing segments of the national forests to be managed by private trusts in order to, as the budget proposal says, "overcome inertia and an excessive decisionmaking structure...[and] avoid the central bureaucracy and thereby reduce organization inefficiencies" in forest management.

Mark Rey, a former timber industry lobbyist and now an undersecretary in the Department of Agriculture, is the administration's front man on this issue. Charter forests are already being condemned by

25 years ago in reason

"The true underlying complaint against corporations is not that they have made mistakes, that they have often seduced governments for shady purposes, or that they are interested only in profit. Most people are guilty of some of this! What really irks the anti-corporate activist is that *he* isn't managing this potent economic unit."

—Tibor Machan, "Reflections on Corporate Phobia"

"Democracy as a way of life commits us to the sort of institutions and practices that will enable all members of the community to develop to their full capacity. But from that I do not derive any programs or groups. In fact, I am opposed to groupism, as I'm interested only in individuals."

—Sidney Hook, "Challenge from a Social Democrat: An Interview with Sidney Hook"

"To me, a good society is one in which man does not suffer on the plane of the pitiful, but, if suffer he must, on the plane of the tragic."

—Sidney Hook, "Challenge from a Social Democrat: An Interview with Sidney Hook"

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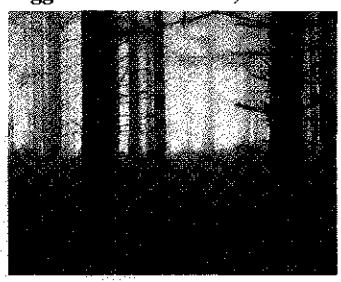
environmental organizations as a giveaway to rapacious loggers who want to fell national forests. Rey notes that the enviros are criticizing a proposal that hasn't even been formalized in congressional legislation yet.

The Bush administration has itself to blame for the bad press, suggests Daniel Kemiss, who



heads the Center for the American West at the University of Montana. He has long supported decentralized management ideas like charter forests. "It was a mistake for [Bush] to have brought this out as an administration proposal rather than developing bipartisan support [in Congress] for it first," Kemiss says. "They clearly will have to achieve bipartisan support to make it actually happen, and it may be harder to do that now" since the environmental lobbies are already up in arms against the idea.

In November, Rep. Scott McInnis (R-Colo.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Forests and Forest Health, along with Rep. Tom Udall (D-N.M.), wrote to the head of the Forest Service suggesting pilot projects like charter forests. That action suggests bipartisan congressional support could well be there for a more concrete legislative proposal.

Nevertheless, "I don't think it's going to happen," says John Baden, head of the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment. Baden has been pushing the idea of having trusts manage portions of the national forest for decades. (He wrote a July 1981 story on the topic for **reason**.) Baden says the Republicans tend to place "rape-and-ruin resource people" in prominent environmental positions, making their proposals a hard sell. "Rey is a timber lobbyist," he says. "I can't think of a worse guy to sell [charter forests] than him, which tells me the administration is not very serious" about the idea.

The drug law that wasn't there

Artificial Bust

Christopher Bogoyevac

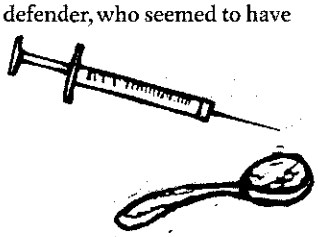
CHARGED WITH POSSESSION of drug paraphernalia, 15-year-old Joshua Krawiec won a dismissal by *proving* that the law he was accused of breaking didn't exist.

In October a police dog sniffed out three film canisters in Krawiec's locker at Newport High School in northeastern Washington state. A field test indicated "marijuana residue" in one of the containers. Lab analysis later confirmed the presence of pot, but the residue detected was insufficient to charge Krawiec with drug possession. Undaunted, local prosecutors decided to indict him for possession of drug paraphernalia.

Krawiec, who said he had no knowledge of any contraband that might have been in the canisters, tried unsuccessfully to get the charge dismissed based on a drug test he passed a few days after the search. Then he turned to Citizens Against Corruption, a local grassroots legal organization. With the assistance of CAC founder Leonard Browning, Krawiec used the Internet to research the law he was charged with breaking as well as several relevant court cases.

He discovered that Washington law forbids the use of paraphernalia for producing, storing, or ingesting illegal drugs. As stated explicitly in the 1998 case *Washington v. McKenna*, however, "mere possession of drug paraphernalia is not a crime."

After firing his public defender, who seemed to have



little interest in mounting a defense, Krawiec himself presented his findings to the court. In January, Superior Court Judge Rebecca Baker reluctantly ordered the case dismissed.

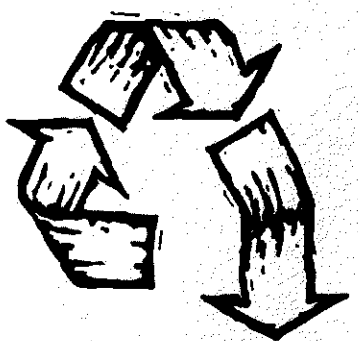
Krawiec, who maintains that he was maliciously and illegally prosecuted without probable cause, got a final slap from Baker. "Don't laugh when you leave this courtroom, thinking you have beat the system because you looked these things up yourself," she said. "We are going to get you down the road."

Not-so-green architecture

Unsustainable Promises

Ronald Bailey

"A PARADIGM OF sustainable design," declared *Landscape Architecture*. "One of the most revolutionary structures of this century," gushed the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. The subject of this praise is the Adam J. Lewis Center for Environmental Studies at Oberlin College in Ohio.



The internationally famous "green" architectural firm William McDonough + Partners designed the building, which was completed in January 2000.

The Lewis Center was intended to be a model of sustainable architecture for the future. Aside from using ecologically friendly construction materials such as bricks, recyclable carpets, and edible upholstery, the Lewis Center has a grid of geothermal wells to regulate heating and cooling, and an array of solar cells on its roof to generate electricity. Wastewater is cleansed by a "Living

Quotes

"Apparently, the basic philosophy for the exhibit—'the power of the individual to make a difference'—is the antithesis of that espoused by many within the Smithsonian bureaucracy, which is 'only movements and institutions make a difference, not individuals.'"

—Catherine B. Reynolds, explaining in the February 5 *Washington Post* why she canceled her $38 million gift for a "great Americans" exhibit at the Smithsonian

"It is very hard to mark the market when there is no market to market."

—Craig Goodman, president and CEO of the National Energy Marketers Association, on the impact of Enron's bankruptcy on deregulation, at the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners conference in Washington, February 12

Source

Is it safe to talk here? Attorney General John Ashcroft reportedly is considering plans to relax decades-old restrictions on the FBI's power to spy on U.S.-based religious and political organizations. A new American Civil Liberties Union report responds by detailing the restrictions' historical raison d'être: J. Edgar Hoover's extended surveillance of Martin Luther King Jr. Read about the FBI's smear campaign against the civil rights leader at www.aclu.org/action/spy107.html.

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Brickbats

Remember when the FBI warned that a Yemeni man and more than a dozen associates might be plotting terror attacks against U.S. interests at home and in Yemen? The bureau alerted all domestic law enforcement agencies of the threat. It held a press conference to warn citizens. It did everything except alert the U.S. embassy in Yemen. Fortunately, the embassy has CNN.

The European Union has banned the live performance of Beethoven and Mozart—almost. If proposed workplace regulations are enacted, musicians say it will be impossible to play orchestral works. At issue is a rule limiting noise in the workplace to 83 decibels. A single trumpet can hit 130 decibels. "This will make classics unplayable," says one occupational health specialist. The E.U. says orchestras should give musicians ear plugs.

Doctors at Norway's national prison have prescribed Viagra to at least two prisoners serving time for sex crimes. One of the prisoners later raped his son in the prison visiting area. Medical officials are unapologetic. "If they have a problem, they have the same rights as anyone else to get help," says chief medical officer Anders Smith.

The Los Angeles Unified School District upheld a Tarzana school's expulsion of a second-grader for carrying a toy gun to school. It did agree to change the recorded reason for his expulsion from "knife/explosive/dangerous object" to "disruption/willful defiance," so that there's no mention of a weapon in his permanent record.

First they went after the Second Amendment. Now they're after the First. The Illinois Council Against Handgun Violence wants the state to forbid magazines, newspapers, and other publications to display classified ads offering firearms for sale. Gun rights groups say the law would effectively ban many of the nation's most popular hunting and outdoor magazines.

British police are building a database of children they think might grow up to be criminals. Kids as young as 3 can be listed, and they don't have to have committed a crime. Being disruptive at school or being considered a neighborhood nuisance will suffice. Police, teachers, and social workers can add names to the list. Blacklisted children won't be alerted, but they will be tracked and watched by authorities.

Safiya Hussaini Tungar-Tudu sits in a jail cell in Nigeria facing a death sentence. What was her crime? She was raped and is now pregnant. Under Islamic law, that means she committed adultery, although she's divorced. She has been sentenced to death by stoning, but there's still hope. The Koran says a pregnancy can last up to seven years. So she has appealed the verdict, arguing the child is actually her ex-husband's.

Charles Oliver

Machine," a micro wetland ecology located in the building's atrium. "The building is designed to produce more energy than it consumes," the August 2001 *Metropolis* magazine admiringly noted.

One problem: The building isn't quite delivering on its promises. Even the architects admit it is using twice as much energy as projected. But that figure doesn't tell the whole story, says Oberlin physics professor John Scofield.

The building, which uses only electric power, takes juice from the local coal-burning power utility to supplement its solar cells. Just a third of the energy produced by burning coal is turned into electricity. Taking that into account, it turns out that the source energy use of the building is about 125,000 BTUs per square foot, while conventional Oberlin classrooms use 130,000 BTUs per square foot. "From the perspective of the energy it uses and the pollution it's responsible for, the Lewis Center is essentially the same as buildings on campus which are 100 years old," says Scofield.

The Living Machine is indeed successfully filtering the building's water, but it too has problems. As the campus weekly *The Oberlin Review* delicately put it, "Students...seem to largely disregard [sic] that not enough waste is deposited in the building to accommodate the system." In other words, Oberlin students are not using the toilets enough to keep the Living Machine's plants alive. And no wonder, says Scofield: "The Living Machine was designed to process 2,000 gallons of sewage daily, corresponding to one toilet flush every minute, 24 hours a day, 365 days per year."

Architect McDonough claims these flaws occurred when contractors ignored his firm's designs and installed an inefficient heating and cooling system. Scofield, who has carefully examined the architectural and mechanical designs, replies that "McDonough was contractually in charge of the project from start to finish."

Oberlin is now spending several hundred thousand dollars more trying to fix these problems. Already the Lewis Center has cost more than $500 per square foot to build, twice the cost of a conventional academic building of similar size.

Teachers' power grab

Classroom Control

Mike Lynch

TEACHER PAY, WORKING conditions, and benefits apparently aren't enough to keep the California Teachers Association

busy. It wants to negotiate over everything that takes place in the classroom, setting curriculum standards, developing policies of parental involvement, and selecting textbooks at the bargaining table. California state assemblywoman Jackie Goldberg (D–Los Angeles) is sponsoring a bill that would give the union a say in all these areas.

The union says it needs expanded authority to control classroom details because its members are being held accountable for classroom performance. "There's been a tremendous emphasis put on accountability, holding teachers accountable for what's happening and for test scores," union President Wayne Johnson told *Sacramento Bee* columnist Daniel Weintraub. "Because we can only bargain over wages, hours and working conditions, we are being held accountable in a system over which we have absolutely no control."

Not exactly, as the state leg-

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Balance Sheet

Jeff A. Taylor

False Positive

Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld nukes the Pentagon's new Office of Strategic Information after it is criticized as a potential source of false stories and propaganda.

Tube Snobs

The Virginia legislature rejects a call to turn off TVs for a week. "You're asking us to approve something not a single person up here would comply with," one state lawmaker says. The TV-Turnoff Network, a nonprofit group that says TV hurts kids, put forth the failed resolution.

Word Play

A 9th Circuit Court of Appeals panel rules that a California public relations firm may use the domain EntrepreneurPR.com, regardless of trademarks held by *Entrepreneur magazine*. The panel decided that use of the word *entrepreneur* wouldn't confuse consumers.

Fine Tuning

The D.C. Court of Appeals shoots down two Federal Communications Commission rules on the ownership of cable and broadcast TV stations. The rule limiting each company's combined audience to 35 percent of the national market is removed, as is the ban on cable/broadcast cross-ownership in local markets.

Whistle Stop

Senators from both parties want new controls on the FBI, including an inspector general's office with teeth. Under proposed legislation, FBI employees would also be protected by the Federal Whistleblower Act for the first time.

Stunning Development

United Airlines doesn't wait for Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) approval to start training pilots to use stun guns, which will be locked in the cockpit. With an FAA OK, stun guns could be on United flights by summer's end.

Securing Secrets

Lawmakers prepare to vote on the Maryland Security Protection Act. In addition to banning "price gouging" during a state of emergency, the act would keep more state records secret. Nationally, at least 301 laws have been proposed to roll back open records rules.

Continental Cuisine

French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin celebrates bloated agriculture subsidies. "Agriculture must not obey liberal rules, it must be organized," he tells farmers. As the E.U. expands, French farmers could face competition from poorer E.U. countries.

Penny Ante

Deep inside the Library of Congress, the Copyright Arbitration Royalty Panel decides that Internet radio stations should pay 0.14 cent for every song they play. The new royalties go to the record labels; music publishers require a separate fee. Many online stations say they can't afford it.

Risk Premium

Commercial lenders insisting on imaginary "zero risk" demand terrorism insurance for properties. Most landlords comply, hiking rents to pay the thousands of extra dollars. A hopeful sign: One property, the Mall of America, went to court and won a reprieve.

Liquored Up

Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.) leads a 13-congressman assault on NBC for airing liquor ads. NBC parent General Electric is warned that the ads could be "the reason that Congress steps in to protect the public interest and public airwaves" by regulating advertising.

Nightmare Drives

State agencies in Pennsylvania unload old computer hard drives but neglect to erase all the data on them. The result: Hundreds of drives with personal data such as Social Security numbers of state residents could be floating around. Identity theft, anyone?

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Data

Watching the Kiddies

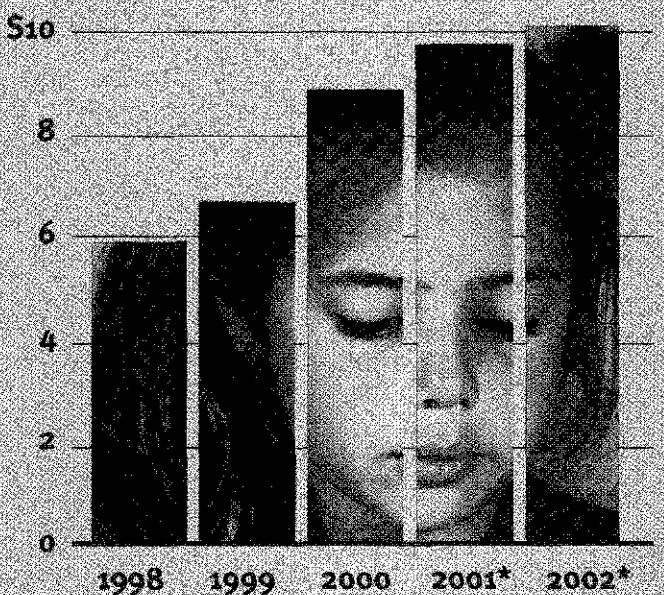
Mike Lynch

As the 1996 welfare reform law comes up for reauthorization this year, one statistic is sure to be heralded: Only 15 percent to 20 percent of families eligible for child care subsidies receive them. The implication is that government is shortchanging the needy. Don't buy it. State and federal spending on child care per eligible family nearly doubled from 1997 to 1999, according to a 17-state study by the consulting firm ABT Associates.

Being eligible for child care subsidies should not be confused with actually wanting them. The 1996 law set the federal eligibility standard at 85 percent of the state median income, which in some states totals more than $36,000 a year for a family of three. The 17 states covered by the study are, in fact, meeting the child care needs of welfare moms, while still spending the most resources on families that have already left or never been on welfare. Five of the 17 states have no waiting lists. "The stigma associated with government support," the study notes, "means that some eligible family will never apply for subsidies even when child care assistance would clearly be beneficial."

Federal and State Child Care Spending Spree

(in billions)



* estimated

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

islature prohibits the use of student test scores to assess individual teachers. There is one group that would lose control if the bill passes: parents. Union negotiations take place behind closed doors, and there's no room at the table for parents. Johnson told the *Bee* that parents might be consulted outside of official negotiations "if they have some qualifications."

The proposal seems so over the top that it has the whiff of a hoax. Johnson "swears he's serious," reports Weintraub, "that he has been thinking about this for 20 years." Goldberg's office confirms it is carrying the bill. ◻

Helping drug war victims

Free Will

Jacob Sullum

"A LOT OF people tell me I give them hope," says Will Foster, "because I did have 93 years in prison, and now I'm free." Arrested in 1995 for growing marijuana in the basement of his Tulsa home, Foster received a sentence so onerous that it attracted international attention. (See "Pot of Trouble," May 1997.) Now he spends much of his time trying to help people in similar situations.

Foster was sentenced to 93 years even though there was no evidence he sold marijuana, which he used to treat the symptoms of his rheumatoid arthritis. In August 1998 a state appeals court said the sentence "shocks our conscience" and reduced it to 20 years, making Foster eligible for parole. Days later, the Oklahoma Pardon and Parole Board voted unanimously to release him, but Republican Gov. Frank Keating refused to sign the order. He turned down a second recommendation the following year before finally agreeing to release Foster in April 2001.

Foster, who served four and a half years, says Oklahoma's budget crunch and overcrowded prisons help explain Keating's decision. The governor "signed more paroles in one month than he did his first six years in office, because [the legislature]

just would not give him any more money," he says. "My parole happened to be on his desk when they did a mass release of almost 2,300 people."

Foster, who now lives in California, also credits all the people who helped publicize his case, setting up Web sites, publishing articles, and writing letters to the governor and the parole board on his behalf. Through the Adopt a Green Prisoner Project (www.adoptagreenprisoner.org), which seeks volunteers to help nonviolent marijuana offenders gain their freedom, he tries to bring the same sort of attention to other drug war victims. Foster started the site last August with James Dawson, a Florida man who was one of his earliest supporters and who, like Foster, served time for growing marijuana he used as a medicine.

One of the first prisoners Foster and Dawson assisted was James Geddes, who received two 45-year sentences for growing five plants in Oklahoma ("Where else?" says Foster). Geddes, who has served nine years so far, has already won parole on one of his

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Bush's Legions

Mike Lynch

James Bovard

President Bill Clinton's AmeriCorps—a federally funded network of paid "volunteers"—was once a favorite punching bag for conservatives, with the Heritage Foundation, among other right-wing forces, denouncing it as a $575 million boondoggle. Yet President George W. Bush has pledged to "expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps [and] recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers." A few limited-government types expressed outrage, but, as the left-wing *American Prospect* gleefully noted, many Republicans have suddenly embraced AmeriCorps. James Bovard, who documented the program's follies in *Feeling Your Pain: The Explosion and Abuse of Government Power in the Clinton-Gore Years* (2000), remains a critic. **reason** National Correspondent Mike Lynch spoke with Bovard in March.

Q: What are the good works of AmeriCorps?

A: I saw an AmeriCorps program paying people to go door-to-door to sign people up for food stamps. I've talked to people who were very proud of using AmeriCorps to put on puppet shows. Other AmeriCorps programs have bused themselves trying to sign up people for welfare of one type or another. It's a very soft program. The folks who run it have chosen not to do evaluations on what it actually achieves. Instead they are simply counting raw numbers of activities, a Soviet bloc type of measurement. The program is incorrigible; once a boondoggle, always a boondoggle.

Q: Why would the Bush administration want to expand it?

A: Temporary insanity. For Clinton, AmeriCorps was largely a photo opportunity. AmeriCorps volunteers were famous for being herded out to a tarmac when President Clinton was flying into someplace so there would be a cheering crowd. Bush is likewise bringing a photo op mentality to AmeriCorps. This is something that makes it easier for politicians to brag about all the good deeds that they paid to have done. But it isn't their money that paid to have them done, and many of them aren't even good deeds.

Q: How are AmeriCorps' critics taking Bush's plan?

A: How many critics are left? Almost all the criticisms on Capitol Hill have stopped. This will be a key part of Bush's legacy. As with Clinton, it's his attempt to put a smiley face on the federal government. But as with Clinton, it is going to blow up in his face.

Q: Why will it blow up in his face?

A: I'll put it in mathematical terms: As the program expands arithmetically, the number of boondoggles will increase geometrically.

Q: What does this say about the permanence of any government program?

A: The fact that the Bush administration has wrapped its arms around AmeriCorps is a symbol of its apparent total lack of will in facing the failure of federal programs.

sentences and faces a decision on the other this spring.

For those who doubt that letters, petitions, and rallies make a difference, Foster says he's confident that officials take notice. "Here are people writing letters from Holland, from England, from France, from Thailand," he says, all with the same basic message: "This person had *marijuana*, and you're putting him in prison for 90 years? What's up with that?" ◻

Trademark ad absurdum

Valuable Heroism

Charles Paul Freund

CAN YOU TRADEMARK a common phrase such as *let's roll*? The Todd M. Beamer Foundation has been attempting to do just that, so as to prevent anyone from exploiting the words commercially without its approval.

Beamer was aboard United Airlines Flight 93, which crashed in Pennsylvania on September 11 following an attempt by passengers to wrest control of the flight from hijackers. He had been on the phone with an air phone operator who heard him say "Let's roll!" as he and others prepared to act. The Beamer family later publicized the passengers' courageous behavior, and Beamer's words soon became a catch phrase symbolizing the nation's resolve. Rocker Neil Young even released a commemorative song titled "Let's Roll."

On September 26 the Todd M. Beamer Foundation sought trademark protection for the phrase from the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office. Doug MacMillan, the foundation's executive director, told the Associated Press that any money from the commercial use of the words should benefit the families of those killed in the attacks. The foundation, he said, would market T-shirts and hats featuring the words and donate the profits to victims' families.

"We think it's horrible for people to want to profit off the events of Sept. 11," MacMillan told the A.P. "If there's anybody who should be benefiting, it should be the victims."

By the time the foundation acted, however, people were already marketing products featuring Beamer's words. Indeed, some of them had already sought trademark protection for themselves. At least two people filed trademark applications days before the foundation and were defending their own right to exploit the phrase. A contractor in Grosse Point, Michigan, told the press, "I don't care what your name is, it's first in, first swim." He added, "It's all about good old American capitalism."

The issue of trademarking common words and phrases has surfaced repeatedly as marketers have sought to protect expensive investments. One game company, for example, has actually trademarked the word *Nazi*. In perhaps the most notorious such case, Pepsi Cola in the early 1990s sought a trademark for the expression *Uh-huh!*, which the company was using in a Ray Charles campaign hawking Diet Pepsi. Unlike many such cases, however, the *let's roll* issue may actually be resolved in court. ◻

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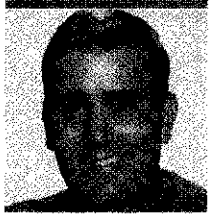

Developmental Disability

HUD boondoggles show why bad government programs are so hard to kill.

WITH AMERICAN SPECIAL forces calculating smart bomb coordinates overseas and legions of students, seniors, and sociology graduates preparing to secure the home front in the USA Freedom Corps, commentators are hailing the return of big government as a glorious ideal. (As a lived reality, it never left.) "President Bush has broken the libertarian grip on the GOP," crows *The Weekly Standard*'s David Brooks, a founding scholar of the "national greatness" school of conservatism.

Against this backdrop, a pair of *Washington Post* investigative reports on economic development in the nation's capital was most welcome.

Three reporters spent six months digging into the federal, local, and nonprofit partnerships charged with revitalizing economically depressed Washington, D.C., neighborhoods. Like almost every other U.S. city of any significant size, the District supports Community Development Corporations (CDC), whose ostensible mission is to mix taxpayer money with private funds and build things to make neighborhoods better.

The federal money comes in block grants from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which each year spreads $4.3 billion among 3,600 groups. Mayors and local pols love the program, which provides them with free money, ribbon cutting ceremonies, and organizations where they can place cronies in cushy jobs. Since much of the money comes from HUD, actually making communities better places to live isn't a requirement.

The District of Columbia is partitioned into eight wards, each overseen by a community development monopolist. During the last decade these groups have blown through $100 million in taxpayer money. The funds have leased a Mercedes-Benz and two Jaguars, paid for a trip to Africa, provided the start-up capital for a law firm in the suburbs, and helped get local political benefactors of the CDCs re-elected. What they haven't funded is community development.

Of the 200 projects that got taxpayer money, only 70 have been completed, and few of those were on schedule and within budget. This failure stands out starkly against a backdrop of economic prosperity and rapidly increasing real estate values in D.C. that has prompted private developers to transform neighborhoods at a profit. "Private developers this summer finished converting two battered 40-unit apartment buildings into condos, which sold out in a few weeks," reports the *Post*, which notes that they are "just steps from...three boarded-up, decaying apartment buildings the Columbia Heights [CDC] has proposed renovating since the mid-1990s."

D.C.'s CDCs and the larger HUD context in which they operate offer some important lessons on the limits of government—and why government ought to stay limited:

There is no such thing as effective government oversight. This $100 million heist went on under the nose of three layers of supposed oversight: the city, Congress, and HUD. "Officials said they could not locate the contracts for nearly two-thirds of the community development organization projects the city agency has overseen for the past decade," the *Post* reports.

It's not what's legal that's corrupt, as Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and other grandstanders in Congress tell us. *It's what's illegal but still overlooked.* The head of one CDC supplements his $116,000 annual salary with a clause in his contract that allows him to take a cut of each deal he

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negotiates. That sort of self-dealing is prohibited by federal regulations.

That's not to say that McCain doesn't have a point. Politics is about using power to take from some people and give to others, making oneself indispensable in the process. Much of what these CDCs do might be legal, but it certainly smacks of corruption. Former D.C. councilmember Charlene Drew Jarvis played benefactor to the People's Involvement Corporation, which spent $20 million in taxpayer money over the past decade. It completed few renovations but excelled at handing out contracts to friends and campaigning for Jarvis. One of the few projects the Development Corporation of Columbia Heights has completed is a single-family home it sold at a loss to the director's friend.

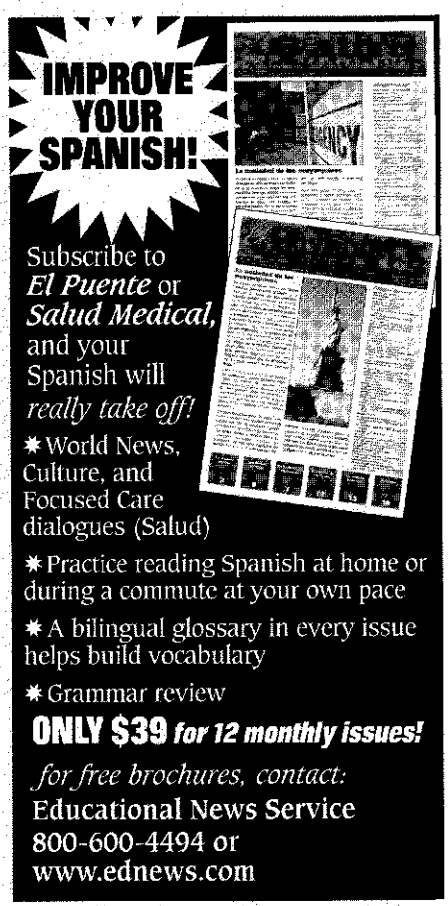
The H Street Community Development Corporation set itself up as a petty banker, making a loan to its own counsel to start a law firm in the suburbs. It shelled out another $45,000 to Jerry's Seafood, a suburban haunt favored by local politicians. The restaurant's owner, Jerry Gainey, was turned down twice for loans from his own county but got lucky when the H Street CDC's executive director and chief loan officer stopped in for lunch. "I said that I could use $25,000 for soft shell crabs," Gainey told the *Post*. He had the money in three days.

Beware of public-private and public-nonprofit partnerships. In D.C. it's common practice for the heads of the ostensibly nonprofit CDCs to have ownership stakes in the for-profit companies with which they do business. The CDC that operates in Anacostia, one of D.C.'s most blighted neighborhoods, has for-profit subsidiaries that do such things as make a $25,000 loan for a trip to Africa to purchase gold. (The gold disappeared on the return trip.) The for-profits tend not to earn actual profits, but they do take loans from the nonprofits and pay consulting fees to nonprofit heads, with no obligation to open their books.

Don't put too much faith in faith-based organizations once they get entangled with government. Like the tax status, the religious status is meaningless, as plenty of organizations will become proficient in the Jim Bakker school of finance.

This was the case in Harlem, where faith-based organizations were among the players in a huge scam that bilked taxpayers out of millions. Investors would buy a dilapidated building for next to nothing. They would then work with a community group eligible to secure a federally insured loan. It would buy the property for an inflated price. The players would split the difference in the sales prices, let the properties go into default, and send taxpayers the tab. "In Harlem," an assistant inspector general at HUD told Congress last September, "religious and other not-for-profit organizations working in partnership with criminals aggressively pilfered nearly the entire investment that had been set aside to help vulnerable and disadvantaged elements of our society."

Outsourcing is not always an improvement. HUD's inspector general in the 1990s would point out that the agency couldn't keep its books, wasn't living up to the standards it promised to meet, and was a source of fraud. HUD Secretary Andrew Cuomo solved the problem. He kept busy announcing new HUD initiatives, such as the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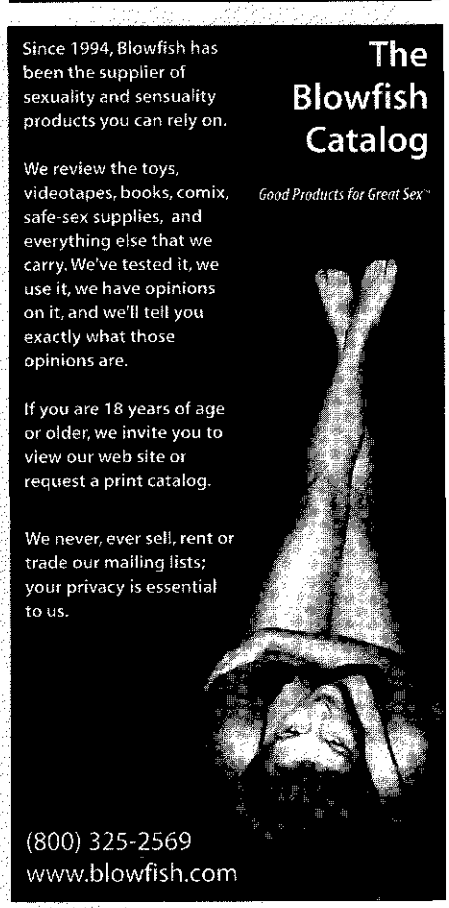
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OOPS! We Can't Find the Government!

Princess Navina has spent her young life studying the governments of other lands, but in Voluntaria she draws a blank. Reacting against their history of past violence, the people of Voluntaria have sworn off using force to manage society. As a result, they have none of the political fixtures of the modern world: no taxation, no regulation, no laws... and no lawyers!

How do they solve the problems of daily life without depending on politicians? The solution is so simple one wonders why no one has thought of it before.

Political scientist Jim Payne, the creator of the Princess Navina series, has written fourteen books on topics ranging from the Peruvian labor movement to the U. S. Congress. "After 41 years of research," he says, "I think I've figured out what's wrong with government and what we can do about it. I've put the answer in fictional form to engage youthful minds without distressing elderly ones."

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"teacher next door" and "officer next door" programs, and pursued frivolous lawsuits against gun manufacturers. To counteract critcism, he spent taxpayer money to hire such firms as Booz Allen Hamilton, PricewaterhouseCoopers, and Ernst & Young to produce reports declaring that all was well in HUD land. "Just a few years ago, our critics were calling for the elimination of HUD," said Cuomo in response to a proposed budget boost in 2001. "Today, HUD is held up as a model of successful government reinvention."

Cuomo, who's running for governor of New York after papering the state over with HUD money, is not lying. In a sense, HUD is a model of successful government reinvention. It may have only changed for the worse, but he was able to reinvent its image among those who matter: congressional appropriators. Government institutions are reform-resistant, as self-interested bureaucrats and their clients spare no effort in finding ways to coopt reform efforts and herald their failures as successes.

They can't be abolished for the same reasons. D.C.'s CDCs, or their progeny, will be failing to perform any good works long after the *Post*'s reporters retire. HUD will remain the country's largest slumlord. When you buy a government program, it comes with a no returns policy. That is why such shopping trips, whether in the name of community development or homeland security, are ill-advised. That's the most important lesson to learn as elected officials pursue national greatness through more federal spending.

Mike Lynch (mwlynch@reason.com) is **reason***'s national correspondent.*

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Intellectual Warfare

Pseudo-intellectuals and pseudo-populists duke it out.

In the March 4 *New Yorker*, Aaron Sorkin, executive producer of NBC's *The West Wing*, referred to President Bush as a "bubblehead." The ensuing flap found commentators across the political spectrum cast in familiar roles: liberals deriding conservatives as dumb, ignorant boors and conservatives deriding liberals as egg-headed, arrogant elitists.

Each side in this shouting match often seems determined to live down to the other's stereotype of itself—even though, in fact, the relationship between conservatism, intellect, and even intellectual elitism is infinitely more complex than the simple dichotomy implies.

For an excellent sample of the liberal mindset on this question, examine "Brain Drain," an essay by Mark Crispin Miller in the online journal *Context*. Miller is fresh from the traumatic experience of promoting his book *The Bush Dyslexicon*, a highly unflattering assessment of the 43rd president, in post–September 11 America. He laments that our civic culture is awash in rabid anti-intellectualism promoted by the right-wing establishment.

His evidence includes the fact that the Fox News Channel's Bill O'Reilly told him he was "misguided, as many, many academics are these days" and Fox Chairman Roger Ailes' comment that "what people deeply resent out there are those in the 'blue' states thinking they're smarter."

To Ailes, Fox News reflects "a touch" of that resentment. Miller also cites some obscene hate e-mail he has received from Bush supporters and some short, crude attacks on left-of-center books posted under the guise of "reader reviews" (e.g., "I have never read another book so full of bullshit") at the Amazon and Barnes & Noble Web sites.

One can make many points in response to Miller's broadside. Vitriolic reviews at online booksellers are hardly the doing of right-wingers alone; books by conservatives such as David Horowitz, or Bill O'Reilly for that matter, get the same treatment. One could also note that Miller unintentionally validates Ailes' remark about the smugness of liberal elites when he jeers at the "half-educated viewers" of Fox News. And he himself acknowledges that the right's anti-academic prejudice does not extend to conservative academics, from Henry Kissinger to Condoleeza Rice.

In Miller's view, of course, these academics are not true intellectuals but mere cheerleaders for the powers that be. Indeed, it seems that for him the only legitimate intellectuals are on the left. He ends his essay by asserting that in the wake of September 11 millions of previously thinking Americans have sunk to the level of right-wing goons, and that the current climate makes it impossible to ask "rational and necessary questions" about the attack, such as "Why are we so hated in the Muslim world?" and "What did our government do there to bring this horror home to all those innocent Americans?" Presumably, scholars who blame radical Islamic terrorism on certain aspects of modern Muslim culture —the historian Bernard Lewis, for example— are to be counted among the dull-witted multitudes.

These blind spots make Miller's screed as easy to dismiss as Sorkin's potshots. *National Review*'s Jonah Goldberg is most likely right when he says that Sorkin would regard Bush as a dummy even if he "had an I.Q. of 7,000 and spoke 16 languages," simply because he is "one of those arrogant Lefties who thinks conservative ideas are stupid until proven otherwise

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and the burden of proof can never be met." (On the other hand, it is worth noting that no one ever tried to slap the "dumb" label on, say, Bob Dole.)

Nevertheless, the charge that the conservatives' mistrust of the liberal "cultural elites" has a way of morphing into a generalized anti-intellectualism cannot be dismissed out of hand. This tendency has been particularly evident since George W. Bush was nominated to be president, when quite a few conservatives responded to the widespread put-downs of Bush's intelligence by embracing literal know-nothingism.

"Maybe we don't want a presidential candidate who can pronounce Kostunica or recite the constituent parts of Yugoslavia," wrote *National Review* Editor Richard Lowry. And when Bush delivered an inarticulate, deer-in-the-headlights performance in the first presidential debate, George Will enthused that "his low-voltage delivery of his words exhibited a kind of behavioral modesty, analogous to and expressive of conservatism's modest expectations for the uses of government."

Sometimes, especially at *National Review*, the animus against braininess has overlapped with a crusade for traditional manliness—the idea being that book learning is for wimps.

Appearing on the Fox News show *On the Record* to discuss a recently released documentary about Bush on the campaign trail, Lowry hailed him as "a more traditional, red-blooded guy" than Al Gore: "He's tough. He's manly....He's not very reflective." To Lowry, it turns out, even familiarity with "hip" pop culture products such as *Sex and the City*—a familiarity that Bush, in the documentary, appears to lack—denotes excessive intellectualism and elitism. "Bush probably knows more about NASCAR, which is more tuned into what most Americans care about, than any of these reporters writing about him," he commented.

> When it comes to President Bush's I.Q., we hear from smug liberals who lament that Al Gore had to try hard not to appear smart and smug conservatives who say that real men don't need brains.

These are, remember, the same conservatives who decry the sad state of our educational system, college students' ignorance of history, and the fact that universities are abandoning the great classics for the study of popular culture. Even on a populist (but smart) show like *The O'Reilly Factor*, a faintly sarcastic attitude toward academics coexists with indignation at the decline of academic standards and the proliferation of junk courses at prestigious schools. (One might say, of course, that the current state of academic thinking is a good reason for sarcasm toward academics.)

What's more, in their screeds against the pointy-heads, conservatives are missing a key point: It is a startling indictment of the so-called liberal elites that Al Gore is their idea of an intellectual. As *New York Observer* columnist Ron Rosenbaum (a Democrat) wrote just before the 2000 election, in a scathing essay deconstructing Gore's pretentious, vapid ramblings, "If George W. Bush is a lightweight, Al Gore is a deep lightweight: deep on the surface, profoundly shallow down below.... Al Gore is the Emperor's New Brain."

Unfortunately, such insights into the foibles of one's own side are fairly rare. For the most part, we hear from the usual suspects—smug liberals like Sorkin, who laments that Gore had to "try so hard not to appear smart in the debates," and smug conservatives like Lowry, who proclaim that real men don't need brains.

It is neither smart nor attractive for liberals, the self-professed champions of the little people, to scorn the vast majority of their fellow citizens as mindless yahoos. But conservatives don't look much better when, after lambasting the left for feeding on resentment of economic success, they pander to resentment of intellectual achievement. ■

Contributing Editor Cathy Young (CathyYoung2@cs.com) writes a column for The Boston Globe.

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Teenage Wasteland

Prohibition was repealed 70 years ago, but the mind-set behind it lingers on.

In February, Columbia University's Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA) released the policy wonk equivalent of a *Girls Gone Wild* spring break video. *Teen Tipplers: America's Underage Drinking Epidemic* promised a salacious expose of youth gone very, very bad. The most ballyhooed factoid in the widely covered report, available online at www.casacolumbia.org, certainly seemed to deliver the goods: CASA declared that six-packed hushes between the ages of 12 and 20 consume a whopping 25 percent of all alcohol sold in this sweet land of liberties.

"Drinking is teen America's fatal attraction...a deadly round of Russian roulette," claimed CASA's head honcho, Joseph A. Califano Jr., in the casually apocalyptic and cliché-ridden phraseology favored by our public policy puritans. You only had to wonder how he restrained himself from denouncing teens and booze as the most terrifying twosome since Frankenstein met the Wolf Man.

There was just one problem with *Teen Tipplers*' headline-grabbing finding: It was about as legit as Jenna Bush's ID card. How CASA and its journalistic designated driver, *The New York Times*, handled the screwup reveals a lot about America's ongoing war between wets and drys. Although Prohibition was repealed almost 70 years ago, the prohibitionist mind-set was not. It's alive and well, and looking to turn any drop of liquor into a sign of pathology.

The day after *Teen Tipplers* hit the news, CASA grudgingly admitted that the proper estimate for the underage share of alcohol consumption is 11.4 percent, not 25 percent. The group's mistake stemmed from a failure to adjust for oversampling of younger drinkers in the federal government's National Household Survey on Drug Abuse. Caught in an obvious and undeniable mathematical mistake, CASA argued like a late-night drunk that really, man, no, *really*, man, it was still absolutely right in its original conclusion.

"It's very unfortunate," CASA's vice president and director of policy research, Sue Foster, told the *Times*. "We didn't reweight the data. But we think the 11.4 percent number is way too low, since there's so much underreporting."

The *Times* headlined its February 27 story containing the above quote "Disturbing Finding on Young Drinkers Proves to Be Wrong." Did it ever. Reporter Tamar Lewin further noted that "alcohol consumption by teenagers dropped sharply in the 1980's, when states raised the drinking age to 21 from 18." There's more: "The proportion of teenagers who engage in binge drinking [i.e. consuming five or more drinks on a single occasion] has declined...In 1998, 6.6 percent of girls and 8.7 percent of boys 12 to 17 reported binge drinking, compared with 11 percent of the girls and nearly 19 percent of the boys a decade earlier."

Here's the crazed part: Despite such sober trends, the *Times* piece quickly turned into a sermon. The *really* bad news, it turns out, is that the historical gender gap in teen drinking has all but disappeared, with 41 percent of girls and 40 percent of boys reporting that they drank alcohol in the previous month.

The last quarter of Lewin's article is about "Natalie, 17, a senior at a Brooklyn private school who attends Alcoholics Anonymous meetings." Natalie, we learn, was hitting the sauce like Betty Ford by age 14. She bemoaned out "drinking gin out of a McDonald's coffee cup [at] a homeless man who had overdosed on heroin died right in front of her." And hey kids, in case you miss the moral of all this, Natalie declares, "I don't want to drink ever again; I know where drinking takes me, and it's not pretty."

It sure isn't. Neither is a "widely respected antidrinking organization" (the *Times*' description of CASA) that can't add or simply admit when it has wildly overstated its case. Or a paper of record that ends a story about that mistake with an over-the-top Gin Lane set piece about the evils of drinks. ■

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JUST SAY NO TO LIVE CLARINETS

PETERBAGGE@EARTHLINK.NET

MUCH OF MY ADOLESCENCE WAS SPENT WITH MY HEADPHONES ON, LISTENING TO MY FAVORITE LPS OVER AND OVER AGAIN AT EAR-SPLITTING VOLUME...
THE GUITARS SOUND SO PERFECT ON THIS SONG...
EVERYTHING SOUNDS PERFECT ON IT!
THIS RECORD IS, LIKE, A MIRACLE!
WHO'S NEXT
...I CALL THAT A BARGAIN...
IMAGINE MY HORROR WHEN I LATER SAW THESE SAME ACTS TRY TO RECREATE THEIR VINYL CLASSICS LIVE WHILE IN THE MIDST OF A TOUR-LONG DRINK + DRUG BINGE!
KEEF! WAKE UP, YOU ARSE!
WHOO-HOO! HE SAID "ARSE"!
AM I DREAMING, OR ARE THEY REALLY AS TERRIBLE AS I THINK THEY ARE?
THE WHO
THIS CAN'T BE HAPPENING!
AS A YOUNG ADULT IT BECAME DE RIGUEUR TO ATTEND ROCK CLUBS AMONG MY PEERS, AND AS A RESULT I SPENT MANY A MISERABLE EVENING IN THOSE ACOUSTIC HELLHOLES.
...YOUR MOM'S A CRACKWHORE...
AREN'T THEY AWESOME? I TOLD YOU THEY'D BE WORTH THE THREE-HOUR WAIT!
OUCH!
WHAT?
I CAN'T SEE A THING!
ANY TYPE OF LIVE MUSIC CAN CAUSE ME PAIN, THOUGH, NO MATTER HOW "REFINED" IT IS. TRUMPETS, VIOLINS AND CLARINETS HAVE A PARTICULARLY DEADLY EFFECT ON ME...
TOOT!
ISN'T THAT SOLOIST WONDERFUL?
"WONDERFUL"? HE'S TRYING TO KILL ME!
AS A RESULT OF SUCH EXPERIENCES, I'M NOW VERY PARTICULAR ABOUT WHAT LIVE SHOWS I CHOOSE TO SEE. I REFUSE TO TAKE ANY MORE CHANCES!
WANNA SEE BRIAN WILSON PERFORM THIS WEEKEND?
OH JEEZ, I DUNNO. WHAT IF HE LAUNCHES INTO ANOTHER 20-MINUTE VERSION OF "BARBARA ANN" AGAIN?
SO WHAT IF HE DOES?
"SO WHAT"? I DON'T THINK I COULD BEAR IT!
WHY SUBJECT MYSELF TO THE WHIMS OF SOME MUSICIAN'S FRAGILE PSYCHE WHEN I HAVE COMPLETE CONTROL OVER HIS ENTIRE RECORDING CAREER IN THE COMFORT OF MY OWN HOME?
...COOL, COOL WATER...
AHH... THAT'S MORE LIKE IT!
IF YOU ASK ME, THE GREATEST INNOVATION IN MUSIC HISTORY IS THE VOLUME KNOB!

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Hollywood vs. the Internet

Why entertainment companies want to hack your computer

Mike Godwin

IF YOU HAVE a fast computer and a fast Internet connection, you make Hollywood nervous. Movie and TV studios are worried not because of what you're doing now, but because of what you might do in the near future: grab digital content with your computer and rebroadcast it online.

Which is why the studios, along with other content providers, have begun a campaign to stop you from ever being able to do such a thing. As music software designer Selene Makarios puts it, this effort represents "little less than an attempt to outlaw general-purpose computers."

Maybe you loved Napster or maybe you hated it, but the right to start a Napster, or to infringe copyright and get away with it, is not what's at issue here. At some date in the near future, perhaps as early as 2010, people may no longer be able to do the kinds of things they routinely do with their digital tools today. They may no longer be able, for example, to move music or video files easily from one of their computers to another, even if the other is a few feet away in the same house. Their music collections, reduced to MP3s, may be movable to a limited extent, unless their hardware doesn't allow it. The digital videos they shot in 1999 may be unplayable on their desktop and laptop computers.

Peter Bagge

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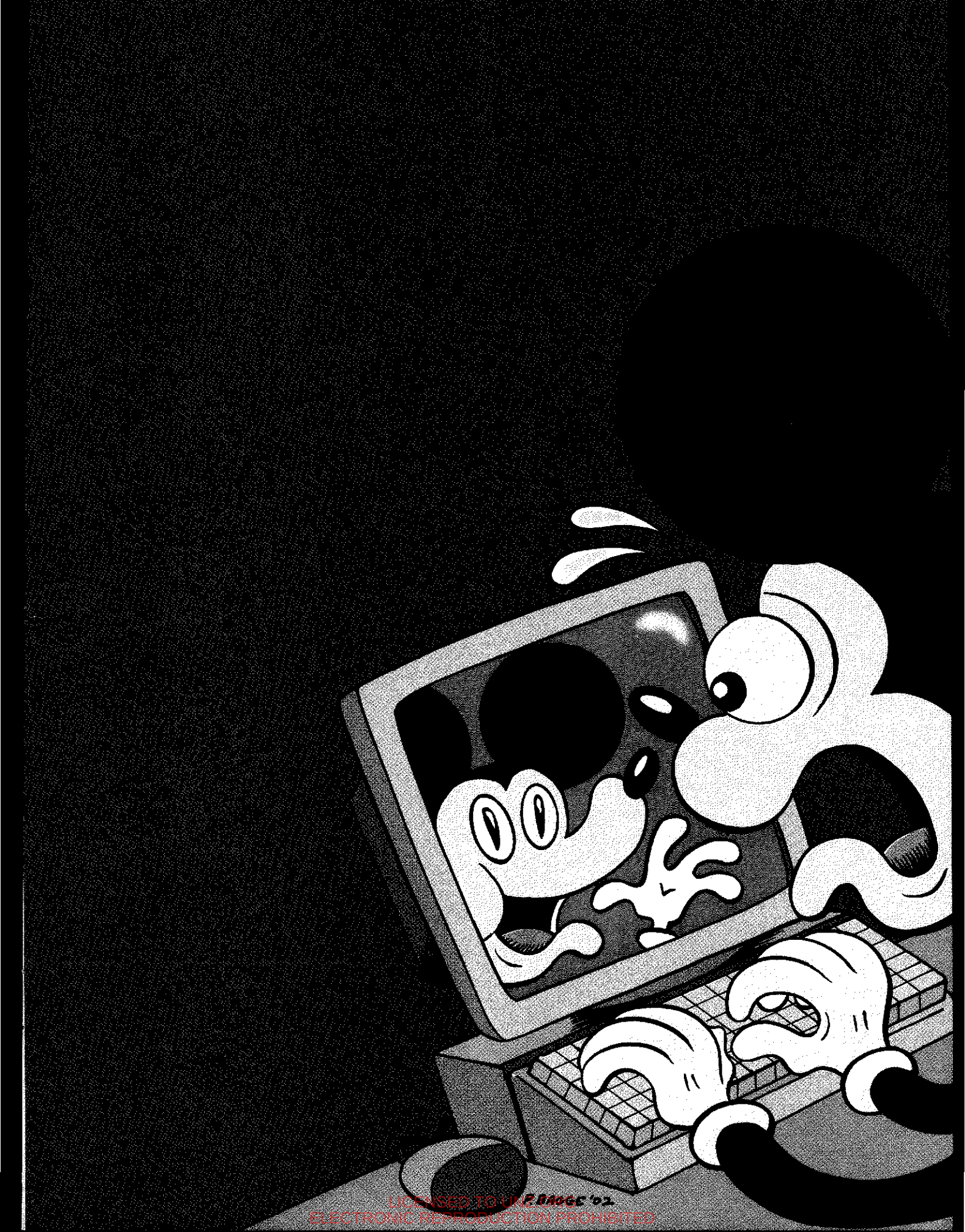

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Programmers trying to come up with, say, the next great version of the Linux operating system may find their development efforts put them at risk of civil and criminal penalties. Indeed, their sons and daughters in grade school computer classes may face similar risks if the broadest of the changes now being proposed—a ban on software, hardware, and any other digital-transmission technology that does not incorporate copyright protection—becomes law.

Whether this scenario comes to pass depends mainly on the outcome of an emerging struggle between the content industries and the information technology industries. The Content Faction includes copyright holders such as movie and TV studios, record companies, and book publishers. The Tech Faction includes computer makers, software companies, and manufacturers of related devices such as CD burners, MP3 players, and Internet routers. In this war over the future shape of digital technology, it's computer users who may suffer the collateral damage.

Digital television will be the first battleground. Unlike DVD movies, which are encrypted on the disk and decrypted every time they're played, digital broadcast television has to be unencrypted. For one thing, the Federal Communications Commission requires that broadcast television be sent "in the clear." (The rationale is that broadcasters are custodians of a public resource—the part of the electromagnetic spectrum used for television—and therefore have to make whatever they pump into that spectrum available to everyone.) Then, too, digital TV has to reach existing digital television sets, which cannot decode encrypted broadcasts.

The lack of encryption, coupled with digital TV's high quality, poses a problem for copyright holders. If a home viewer can find a way to copy the content of a digital broadcast, he or she can reproduce it digitally over the Internet (or elsewhere), and everybody can get that high-quality digital content for free. This possibility worries the movie and TV studios, which repackage old television shows for sale to individuals as DVDs or videotapes and sell cable channels and broadcast stations the right to air reruns. Who is going to buy DVDs or tapes of TV shows or movies they can get for free online through peer-to-peer file sharing? And if everybody is trading high-quality digital copies of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* or *Law & Order* over the Internet, who's going to watch the reruns on, respectively, Fox's F/X network or the Arts & Entertainment channel? What advertisers are going to sponsor those shows when their complete runs are available online to viewers, commercial-free, through some successor to Napster or Gnutella?

The Content Faction has a plan to prevent this situation from developing—a plan Hollywood's copyright holders hope will work for music and every other kind of content. The first part of the plan involves incorporating a "watermark" into digital TV signals. Invisible to viewers, the watermark would contain information telling home entertainment systems whether to allow copying and, if so, how much. But the watermark won't work without home entertainment equipment that is designed to understand the information and limit copying accordingly. Such a system has not been developed yet, but in theory it could apply to all digital media.

There are some problems with this scheme. If Princeton computer scientist Edward Felten is right, a watermark that's invisible to the audience yet easily detected by machines will be relatively easy to remove. To put it simply, if you can't see it, you won't miss it when it's gone. Which is why the components of new home entertainment systems probably would have to be designed not to play unwatermarked content. Otherwise, all you've done is develop an incentive for both inquisitive hackers and copyright "pirates" to find a way to strip out the watermarks. But if the new entertainment systems won't play content without watermarks, they won't work with old digital videos or MP3s.

The implications of a watermark system extend beyond the standard components of today's home entertainment systems: VCRs, CD and DVD players, TV and radio receivers, amplifiers, and speakers. What tech industry pundits call "convergence" means that one other component is increasingly likely to be part of home entertainment setups: the personal computer. Says Emery Simon, special counsel to the Business Software Alliance (an anti-piracy trade group), "That's the multipurpose device that has them terrified, that will result in leaking [copyrighted content] all over the world."

This prospect is what Disney CEO Michael Eisner had in mind when, in a 2000 speech to Congress, he warned of "the perilous irony of the digital age." Eisner's view of the problem is shared by virtually everybody in the movie industry: "Just as computers make it possible to create remarkably pristine images, they also make it possible to make remarkably pristine copies."

Because computers are potentially very efficient copying machines, and because the Internet is potentially a very efficient distribution mechanism, the Content Faction has set out to restructure the digital world. It wants to change

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Industry progress toward an agreement for copyright protection in digital television hasn't proceeded as quickly as the content companies would like. "Maybe a mandate is the way to get there more quickly," says an AOL Time Warner exec.

not just the Internet but every computer and digital tool, online or off, that might be used to make unauthorized copies. It wants all such technologies to incorporate "digital rights management" (DRM)—features that prevent copyright infringement.

At stake in this campaign, according to Eisner, is "the future of the American entertainment industry, the future of American consumers, the future of America's balance of international trade." Lobbyists at News Corporation, Vivendi Universal S.A., and pretty much every other company whose chief product is content agree with Eisner, the Content Faction's acknowledged leader, about the magnitude of the issue (although foreign-based companies such as Bertelsmann A.G. are understandably less concerned about the U.S. balance of trade). All of them tend to talk about the problems posed by computers, digital technology, and the Internet in apocalyptic terms.

The companies whose bailiwick is computers, digital technology, and the Internet tend to take a different view. Of course, Tech Faction members, which include Microsoft, IBM, Hewlett-Packard, Cisco Systems, and Adobe, also value copyright. (Adobe, for instance, last year instigated the prosecution of a Russian computer programmer who cracked the company's encryption-based e-book security scheme.) And many of them—especially those who have been developing their own DRM technologies—want to see a world in which copyrighted works are reasonably well-protected. Yet if you ask them what they think of the Content Faction's agenda for the digital world, you invariably get something similar to the position expressed by Emery Simon of the Business Software Alliance (BSA), a group that includes the Tech Faction's major players: "We are strongly antipiracy, but we think mandating these protections is an abysmally stupid idea."

The two factions' agreement about the importance of protecting copyrighted works online makes them uncomfortable to be on opposite sides now. The Tech Faction and the Content Faction both supported the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA) of 1998, and both like it pretty much as it is. The DMCA prohibits the creation, dissemination, and use of tools that circumvent DRM technologies.

Where the two factions differ is on the issue of whether the DMCA is enough. The BSA's Simon views the DMCA as a well-crafted piece of legislation but thinks efforts to build DRM into every digital device are overreaching. And in taped remarks at a December business technology conference in Washington, D.C., Intel CEO Craig Barrett spoke out against a bill proposed (but not yet formally introduced) by Sen. Ernest "Fritz" Hollings (D-S.C.) that would mandate a national copyright protection standard. The Content Faction says it needs such a standard to survive.

A few companies are so big and diverse that they don't fall easily into either faction. Take AOL Time Warner. The movie studios and other content producers under its umbrella tend to favor efforts that lock down cyberspace, but AOL itself, along with some of the company's cable subsidiaries, tends to resist any effort to mandate universal DRM. "We like the DMCA," says Jill Lesser, AOL Time Warner's senior vice president for domestic public policy. "There isn't from our perspective a need for additional remedies." AOL's reluctance to embrace the Hollings legislation explains why the Motion Picture Association of America, of which AOL Time Warner is a prominent member, remains officially neutral on the bill.

But Lesser needs only to take a breath before she adds that something like the Hollings bill, at least with regard to digital TV, may be a good idea. Industry progress toward an agreement for copyright protection in digital television hasn't proceeded as quickly as the content companies would like. "Maybe a mandate is the way to get there more quickly," she says.

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Napster is the specter that's haunting the Content Faction. Although the free version of Napster has been essentially wiped out by music-company litigation (a new version of the file sharing system is being developed by Bertelsmann A.G.), the Napster phenomenon still casts a long shadow. One technologist for News Corporation who is working on a watermark-based DRM scheme says he thinks Napster signals the end of the music industry. He argues that since record companies generally have most of their catalogs available on unprotected CDs, which can be "ripped" and duplicated with CD burners or distributed over the Internet as MP3 files, music lovers already have gotten out of the habit of paying for records, which means an end to big profits and thus an end to big record companies. "Within five years," he says, "the music industry will be a cottage industry."

Matthew Gerson, vice president for public policy at Vivendi Universal, which produces and sells both music (Universal Music Group) and movies (Universal Studios), is quick to dispute such predictions. "We know that if we build a safe, consumer-friendly site that has all the bells and whistles and features that music fans want, it will flourish," he says. "My hunch is that fans will have no trouble paying for the music that they love and compensating the artists who bring it to them—established stars as well as the new voices the labels introduce year after year."

But maintaining that model, in which big music companies play an important filtering role for audiences, depends both on large streams of revenue and on control of copyrighted works. The Internet and digital technology could change all that, cutting off the revenue stream by moving music consumers to a world in which trading music online for free is the norm. (Some recording artists, including Don Henley and Courtney Love, might welcome the change. They question whether the music companies truly serve artists' interests as well as they serve their own corporate interests.) At the same time, a technical/legal scheme that perfects control of digital content creates new revenue opportunities: The music companies, for example, could "rent" or "license" music to us in a protected format rather than sell copies outright.

The Hollings legislation, dubbed the Security Systems Standards and Certification Act, is designed to help content companies turn the potential peril of digital technology into profits. In the drafts available last fall, the bill would make it a civil offense for anyone to develop a new computer or operating system (or any other digital tool that makes copies) that does not incorporate a federally approved security standard preventing unlicensed copying. The bill would set up a scheme under which private companies met and approved the security standard. It would require that the standard be adopted within 18 months; if that deadline passed without agreement on a standard, the government would step in and impose one. In at least one version, the bill would also make it a felony to remove the watermark from copyrighted content or to connect a computer that sidesteps DRM technology to the Internet.

The Hollings bill applies to any digital technology, not just TV. It's clear why the bill's supporters want its scope to be so broad: If the watermark scheme works for digital TV, creating a system for labeling copyrighted works and for designing consumer electronics to prevent unlicensed copying, it should be possible to make it work for the rest of the digital world, including the Internet.

According to Capitol Hill sources, the Hollings bill was inspired by Eisner's 2000 speech to Congress. The people who had a hand in drawing up the legislation do not describe it in terms of protecting embattled copyright interests. Instead, they say it's a proactive measure designed to promote both digital content and increased use of high-speed Internet services. They note that consumer adoption of broadband services (such as cable modems and DSL) has been slower than predicted. Consequently, the cable and phone companies have too small a consumer base to justify building out their broadband capacity very quickly or very far. But if Hollywood could be assured that its content would be protected on the broadband Internet, the theory goes, it would offer more compelling online content, which would inspire greater consumer demand for high-speed service.

This theory, which assumes that what people really want from the Internet is more TV and movies, is questionable, but it has a lot of currency in Washington. And as the debate over broadband deregulation shows, Congress wants to find a way to take credit for a quicker rollout of faster Internet service.

It was the Hollings bill that brought the war between the Content Faction and the Tech Faction out into the open. And in the near term it's the Hollings bill that is likely to be the flash point for the debate about copyright protection standards. A congressional hearing on Hollings' proposal was held in late February, but no bill has been formally introduced.

One way to understand the conflict between the Content Faction and the Tech Faction is to look at how they

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If computers and software start shipping in a hamstrung form, mandated by government, I'll quit buying new equipment. Why trade in last year's feature-rich laptop for a new one that, while faster, has fewer capabilities?

describe their customers. For the content industries, they're "consumers." By contrast, the information technology companies talk about "users."

If you see people as consumers, you control access to what you offer, and you do everything you can to prevent theft, for the same reason supermarkets have cameras by the door and bookstores have electronic theft detectors. Allowing people to take stuff for free is inconsistent with your business model.

But if you see people as users, you want to give them more features and power at cheaper prices. The impulse to empower users was at the heart of the microcomputer revolution: Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak wanted to put computing power into ordinary people's hands, and that's why they founded Apple Computer. If this is your approach—enabling people to do new things—it's hard to adjust to the idea of building in limitations.

In a basic sense, moving bits around from hard drives to RAM to screen and back again, with 100 percent accuracy in copying, is simply what computers do. To the Tech Faction, building DRM into computers, limiting how they perform their basic functions, means turning them into special-purpose appliances, something like a toaster. This approach is anathema to the user empowerment philosophy that drove the PC revolution.

The Tech Faction believes people should be able to do whatever they want with their digital tools, except to the extent that copyrighted works are walled off by DRM. The Content Faction believes the digital world isn't safe unless every tool also functions as a copyright policeman.

At the heart of this argument are two questions: whether computer users can continue to enjoy the capabilities computers have had since their invention, and whether the content companies can survive in a world where users have those capabilities. What's been missing from the debate so far has been the users themselves, although some public interest groups are gearing up to tackle the issue. Users may well take the approach I would take: If computers and software start shipping in a hamstrung form, mandated by government, I'll quit buying new equipment. Why trade in last year's feature-rich laptop for a new one that, while faster, has fewer capabilities?

The Content Faction may be right that what people really want is compelling content over broadband. It may even be the case that, if they were asked, most people would be willing to trade the open, robust, relatively simple tools they now have for a more constrained digital world in which they have more content choices. But for now, nobody's asking ordinary people what they want. ▮

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Hungry for the Next Fix

Behind the relentless, misguided search for a medical cure for addiction.

Stanton Peele

As DIRECTOR OF the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), Alan Leshner toured the country with a PowerPoint presentation featuring brain scans. The show was a slightly more sophisticated version of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America's famous ad showing an egg frying in a pan. As he flashed magnetic resonance images (MRIs) on a screen, Leshner would say, in effect, "This is your brain on drugs."

Leshner's message was threefold. First, certain drugs are inherently addictive. Second, scientists have discovered the neurochemical processes through which these drugs cause addiction. Third, that understanding will make it possible to develop drugs that cure or prevent addiction. Leshner's traveling PowerPoint show epitomized NIDA's reductionist approach to drug abuse: Take a brain, add a chemical, and voilà, you've got substance dependence.

Leshner left NIDA at the end of November. Coincidentally, Enoch Gordis, head of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) since 1986, retired around the same time. Like Leshner, Gordis sees addiction as a biological problem with a pharmaceutical solution. He believes scientists have "the ability based on new knowledge from neuroscience research to develop pharmacologic treatments that act on brain mechanisms involved in alcohol dependence."

The view of addiction espoused by Leshner and Gordis is at odds with what we know about the actual behavior of drug users and drinkers—including evidence from government-sponsored research. These studies indicate that treatment is neither necessary nor sufficient for overcoming addiction. The main factor in successful resolution of a drug or alcohol problem is the ability to find rewards in ordinary existence and to form caring relationships with people who are not addicts. By looking instead for a magical elixir just over the horizon, NIDA and the NIAAA give short shrift to the individual circumstances that are crucial to understanding why some people abuse drugs.

'A Medical Illness'

NIDA's official mission is, in its own words, "to lead the Nation in bringing the power of science to bear on drug abuse and addiction." Leshner, who has a Ph.D. in physiological psychology, took the agency's helm in 1994. During his tenure NIDA's budget doubled to $781 million, money devoted mainly to biological research that approaches addiction as a disease.

Although drug use "begins with a voluntary behavior," Leshner said in a 2001 interview with *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, it ceases to be voluntary after it repeatedly affects the "pathway deep within the brain" common to all drug addiction. "There's no question it's a medical illness," he said, "and once you have it, it mandates treatment. It's a myth that millions of people get better by themselves."

Leshner's model of addiction emphasizes the special power of drugs. After all, he did not travel around the country with MRI images showing how shopping, gambling, or eating potato chips affects the brain. Thus it was startling to see him concede that drug abuse may be fundamentally similar to excessive involvements with other activities that give pleasure or relieve stress. "Over the past 6 months," he said in the November 2 issue of *Science*, "more and more people have been thinking that, contrary to earlier views, there is a commonality between substance addic-

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Addicts act very much like other human beings: They pursue pleasure or relief, and most will change their behavior when it causes them serious harm, so long as they have reasonable alternatives.

tions and other compulsions." Some of us have been making this point for years, and it does not fit very well with the idea that drugs create addicts by transforming their brains.

As evidence for this view, Leshner would point to MRI scans of experienced drug users, which he claimed differed in characteristic ways from images of ordinary brains. He also cited studies of drug-induced brain changes in animals. He liked to display a map—reminiscent of a phrenology chart—showing which areas of the brain are involved in drug use and addiction.

But Leshner's seemingly scientific claims have never jibed with reality. Consider what the sociologist Lee Robins and the psychiatrist John Helzer found when they headed a team that interviewed veterans who had been addicted to heroin in Vietnam. Only one in eight became readdicted at any time during the three years after they came home. This was not because the rest were abstinent: Six in 10 used a narcotic after returning to the U.S., and a quarter of the previously addicted men used heroin regularly. Yet only one in five of those who used a narcotic after they got home, including only half of those who used heroin regularly, became readdicted.

The Vietnam situation, of course, was unique. Young men were torn from their homes, sent to a strange and dangerous environment, and offered easy access to heroin. Then they returned to normal life. Still, the results surprised Robins and her associates, who commented: "It is uncomfortable presenting results that differ so much from clinical experience with addicts in treatment. But one should not too readily assume that differences are due to our special sample. After all, when veterans used heroin in the United States...only one in six came to treatment." In other words, looking only at addicts who are treated provides a skewed view of addiction. Indeed, the vets who were treated after they got home actually were *more* likely to pick up the habit again.

Rats vs. People

Any doubts about the relevance of the Vietnam veterans study are allayed by findings from long-term studies of drug users in the U.S. Long-term cocaine users, for example, generally do not become addicts. And when they do go through periods of abuse, they typically cut back or quit on their own. They may not do so as rapidly as others (and they themselves) wish they would. But addicts act very much like other human beings: They pursue pleasure or relief, and most will change their behavior when it causes them serious harm, so long as they have reasonable alternatives.

According to the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse (overseen by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration), about 3 million Americans have used heroin. Of these, one in 10 report using the drug in the last year, and one in 20 say they've used it in the past month. The percentages for cocaine are similar. In both cases, daily use is so rare that the government does not provide figures for it. These findings indicate that the vast majority of heroin and cocaine users either never become addicted or, if they do, soon manage to moderate their use or abstain.

This pattern has been confirmed again and again by government-sponsored research. At NIDA, however, studies of human behavior have taken a back seat to research involving brain scans, special breeds of rats, and monkeys tethered to drug-dispensing catheters.

Given NIDA's biological orientation, it may seem odd that the main form of treatment the agency advocates (pending development of a wonder drug for addiction) involves adopting a new set of quasi-religious beliefs and meeting regularly with like-minded individuals. But NIDA's take on addiction has much in common with the view promoted by Alcoholics Anonymous (A.A.) and its imitators. Both see addiction as a disease involving loss of control that can be overcome only through abstinence.

NIDA's support for drug treatment based on A.A.-like principles, the dominant approach in the United States, flies in the face of its avowed commitment to rigorous science—a conflict illustrated in the last issue of NIDA's newsletter published under Leshner. A front-page article announced the disastrous long-term consequences of heroin use, based

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on a study that followed a group of addicts for more than 30 years. "The death rate among the members of the group is 50 to 100 times the rate among the general population of men in the same age range," the article said. "Even among surviving members of the group," the lead researcher added, "severe consequences such as high levels of health problems, criminal behavior and incarceration, and public assistance were associated with long-term heroin use."

Yet the subjects of this study were criminal offenders in California who were forced to attend abstinence-oriented, A.A.-style group sessions between 1962 and 1964. In other words, they benefited from just the sort of treatment NIDA advocates. Undaunted, Leshner began his column in the same issue of the newsletter with the cheery news that "NIDA's quarter century of research has produced a basic unequivocal message—drug addiction is a treatable brain disease." Yet today's preferred treatment is indistinguishable from the programs those California convicts attended in the 1960s.

Sugar: The Miracle Cure

If Leshner and Gordis are right, A.A.-style therapy will ultimately be replaced, or at least supplemented, by drugs that block addiction. The leading candidate so far is naltrexone, which is reputed to curb the urge for both heroin and alcohol. Naltrexone has been approved for treatment of alcohol dependence, and Gordis, an M.D., promoted the drug as the first in the pharmacopoeia he envisioned for alcoholism.

A study published in December made that prospect seem unlikely. The researchers divided 600 alcoholics into three groups: One received naltrexone for a year, another was given naltrexone for three months followed by nine months of sugar pills, and the third group took just the placebo. The subjects began the study drinking, on average, on two out of every three days, 13 drinks on each occasion. One year after their treatment began, these men were drinking one-quarter as frequently and consuming somewhat less when they did drink. But the reduction was about the same for the men who took the fake pills as it was for those who were given naltrexone.

Announced in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, these findings were incomprehensible to anyone who accepts the view of alcoholism promoted by the NIAAA. Aside from the evidence against naltrexone's effectiveness, it was stunning that sugar pills enabled severe alcoholics to reduce their drinking without abstaining completely, which alcoholism experts in the United States teach is impossible. Yet every major study of alcoholism carried out during Gordis' tenure at the NIAAA yielded the same sort of results. It's just that Gordis spent much of his energy denying what his own agency had found.

In 1992 the NIAAA surveyed more than 42,000 randomly selected Americans in the National Longitudinal Alcohol Epidemiologic Survey. Census Bureau interviewers questioned each respondent about his or her lifetime drug and alcohol use. Of special interest were 4,585 respondents who at some time in their lives were "alcohol dependent" (what most people call alcoholic). Of this group, only about a quarter were ever treated for alcoholism (including A.A. as treatment). But the treated group was no more likely to have improved, as measured by either abstinence or drinking without abuse. In fact, more treated (33 percent) than untreated alcoholics (28 percent) were continuing to abuse alcohol.

One reason untreated alcoholics did better was that many more of them reduced their drinking without abstaining. Among people who at some point in their lives had qualified as alcohol dependent but were never treated, nearly "6 in 10" or "more than half" (58 percent) in the untreated group were drinking without a diagnosable problem. Including all the treated and untreated alcoholics in this random sample of Americans, half were drinking without abusing alcohol.

Driven Not to Drink

The NIAAA sponsored another ambitious study—the largest trial of psychotherapy ever conducted. Completed in 1996, the study was known as Project MATCH because it was aimed at determining whether different treatments could be "matched" to specific types of alcoholics to produce optimum results. One of the therapies, based on A.A.'s 12 steps, was called "12-step facilitation." A second was dubbed "coping skills therapy." The third was "motivational enhancement therapy." Nearly half of the 1,700 or so subjects underwent hospital treatment first; the rest entered the MATCH treatments directly.

All the therapies performed equally well, but one was considerably simpler than the others: Motivational enhancement involved four sessions with each alcoholic, compared to 12 for the two other types of therapy (although, on average, subjects attended only two-thirds of the sessions scheduled for any of the therapies). Motivational enhancement brings into focus and strengthens the individual's own drive for sobriety, but it leaves the mechanics of sobriety to the alcoholics themselves.

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At the National Institute on Drug Abuse, studies of human behavior have taken a back seat to research involving brain scans, special breeds of rats, and monkeys tethered to drug-dispensing catheters.

Although the Project MATCH subjects had few counseling sessions (especially in motivational enhancement therapy), their drinking was periodically assessed following treatment. These interactions with the project, intended solely for research purposes, seem to have had the effect of keeping alcoholics focused on controlling their drinking.

Whatever treatment alcoholics received in Project MATCH, few abstained for even a year. Gordis and his colleagues instead emphasized dramatic reductions in drinking by the subjects. Whereas they averaged 25 days of drinking a month prior to treatment, after a year they were drinking only six days out of the month. Moreover, the average number of drinks they consumed each time they drank dropped from 15 to three.

In all three of these prominent studies—the naltrexone trial, the NIAAA's national survey, and Project MATCH—the results were essentially the same. Even with clinical alcoholics, minimal treatments were as successful as more elaborate ones, and the best indicator of success was the alcoholics' ability to cut back their drinking rather than quit altogether. But how can sugar pills or a few sessions of motivational enhancement help alcoholics control their drinking? The basic ingredients for successful treatment are 1) identifying a problem with the agreement of the addict, 2) believing change is possible, 3) placing primary responsibility on the addict for carrying out the change, 4) accepting reductions in use as well as abstinence, and 5) following up to let addicts know someone cares and wants to make sure they stay on course.

Beyond Abstinence

In the face of studies that cast doubt on traditional notions about alcoholism, Gordis seemed to consider it his duty to explain why they actually confirmed the conventional wisdom. Project MATCH in particular presented a serious P.R. problem for the NIAAA: It spent more than $30 million without fulfilling its purpose of identifying principles for matching alcoholics to treatments. This is how Gordis spun the results: "The good news is that treatment works. All three treatments...produced excellent overall outcomes."

Although Gordis relied on reduced drinking as a measure of success to put the best gloss on Project MATCH, he has always quashed any revision of the abstinence-oriented goals that characterize virtually all American alcoholism treatment. Responding to a 1997 *U.S. News and World Report* story on Moderation Management, a program for reducing alcohol consumption among problem drinkers, Gordis sternly warned that "current evidence supports abstinence as the appropriate goal for persons with the medical disorder 'alcohol dependence' (alcoholism)."

While abstinence may be a desirable goal for these individuals, not many accomplish it. Project MATCH engaged the top clinical practitioners and researchers in the United States in designing and supervising treatment for alcoholics. As a result of this attentive, sophisticated care, which is unlikely to be matched by any program an alcoholic could find in the real world, about a quarter of the subjects abstained for as long as a year.

Gordis' attitude seems to be: "Most alcoholics won't abstain after treatment, but they should! And we are not going to accept anything less than this worthy, if unreachable, goal." His attitude is especially disturbing since Project MATCH found that reductions in drinking were beneficial. The subjects' liver functioning typically improved, and they displayed fewer problems associated with drinking. Surely, better health and less destructive behavior are worthy goals.

Since Gordis spoke for the U.S. alcohol treatment establishment, his rigidity condemned American alcoholics to limp along, most continuing to drink, with little chance of finding assistance in limiting their drinking or reducing its negative consequences. We will never eliminate drinking and drug use. But we might be able to reduce the harm they sometimes cause if we could eliminate the pseudoscientific moralism dispensed by the likes of Leshner and Gordis. ▪

Stanton Peele (www.peele.net), a psychologist and attorney, is the author of several books on addiction.

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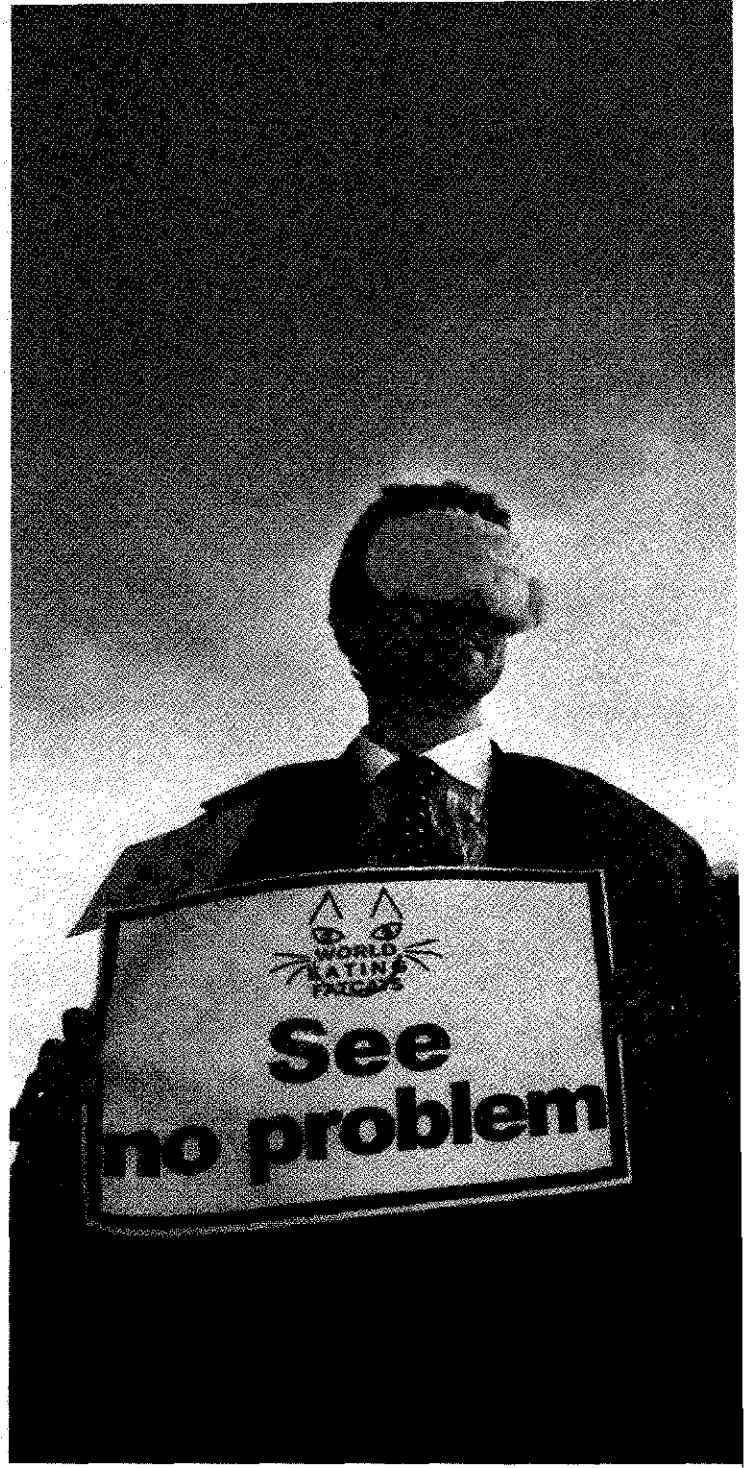
Green with Ideology

The hidden agenda behind the "scientific" attacks on Bjørn Lomborg's controversial new book, *The Skeptical Environmentalist*

Ronald Bailey



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On September 5 the Danish statistician Bjørn Lomborg, author of *The Skeptical Environmentalist: Measuring the Real State of the World*, sat down at a Borders bookstore in Oxford, England, to promote his controversial book. A pie was thrown in his direction. "I wanted to put a Baked Alaska in his smug face," said the perpetrator, "in solidarity with the native Indian and Eskimo people in Alaska."

It was one of the more honest attacks on Lomborg and his book. Filled with scores of charts and graphs, backed by some 2,900 endnotes and 70 pages of references, *The Skeptical Environmentalist* looks at a host of global environmental issues, including population growth, pollution, deforestation, and climate change. For his trouble in writing it, Lomborg has become the target of an intellectual hate campaign.

The World Wildlife Fund and the World Resources Institute jointly warned journalists to "proceed with caution" in writing about the book. They accused Lomborg of deploying "distorted quotations, inaccurate or misleading citations, misuse of data, [and] interpretations that contradict well-established scientific work." *Scientific American* was vexed by Lomborg's "presumption," asserting that his analysis of the state of the global environment "is often marred by an incomplete use of data or a misunderstanding of the underlying science." In *Nature*, Lomborg was denounced as the moral equivalent of a Holocaust denier.

The bitter anti-Lomborg campaign reveals the hidden crisis of what we might call ideological environmentalism. Ideological environmentalism goes far beyond sensible efforts to reduce pollution or protect wilderness. It argues that the modern world fosters institutions and ideas that exploit and oppress people and degrade and destroy the environment. According to this view, the only solution to the supposedly looming ecological crisis is the sweeping, global transformation of the world's economies and political systems. The notion is neatly captured in former Vice

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President Al Gore's demand that humanity "make the effort to save the global environment the central organizing principle of our civilization."

Unfortunately for the doomsayers, their central predictions are simply not coming true. And so their best and perhaps only defense against a dispassionate analysis of their claims has been to smear the analyst.

The environmental canon is built on doom. In 1962 Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* predicted that modern synthetic chemicals, especially pesticides, would cause epidemics of cancer and kill off massive quantities of wildlife. Stanford biologist Paul Ehrlich's infamous *The Population Bomb* confidently asserted in 1968 that "the battle to feed all of humanity is over. In the 1970s the world will undergo famines—hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death in spite of any crash programs embarked upon now." *The Limits to Growth*, a Club of Rome report published in 1972, coupled the dogma that natural resources were running out with concerns about growing population and rising pollution.

Each of these books was a bestseller. Each, along with the many similar works they inspired, were calls to action:

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to ban synthetic chemicals, coercively limit births, slash economic growth. The writers justified these goals by claiming that indisputable scientific findings demanded that they be adopted. If their science is wrong, so are their policies.

Today fears of global famines caused by overpopulation are receding. The growth in human numbers is decreasing: If current trends continue, demographers do not expect the world population ever to exceed 10 billion. Food grows ever cheaper and more available. Despite the introduction of thousands of new synthetic chemicals, cancer rates are falling. Synthetic chemicals have not killed off thousands of species—including those pests at which pesticides are specifically aimed.

Nor is the world running out of any important "nonrenewable" fuels or mineral resources. Even the *Vital Signs 2001* report from the Worldwatch Institute, an environmental think tank in Washington, D.C., acknowledges that "nonfuel commodities now fetch only about 46 percent as much as in the mid-1970s." Indeed, the editors note that "food and fertilizer prices are about one fourth their 1974 peak" and that metals are "at half their 1974 peak." The price of crude oil, which has risen lately, "nevertheless remains at about half the zenith reached in 1980." Overall, nonfuel commodities cost only a third of what they did in 1900. As we all know, falling prices generally indicate increased supply.

Yet environmental doomsaying remains strong. As recently as the summer of 2001, Earth First! founder David Foreman was defending Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* as "misunderstood." The Pesticide Action Network continues to claim that synthetic chemicals are dramatically increasing cancer rates. Princeton geologist Kenneth Deffeyes declared last year in his book *Hubbert's Peak* that the world will face another "oil crisis" later in this decade.

"*The Limits to Growth* is but one in a long series of books that have disturbed industrial society," Donella Meadows, a member of the original *Limits to Growth* team, declared some years ago. The members of Meadows' movement still "treasure and are sustained by all of them, quote from them, assign them to students," she added. "Each book in some way engenders another."

That has indeed been the case. Unfortunately for this juggernaut of doom, the books also engendered *The Skeptical Environmentalist,* which questions the very foundations of ideological environmentalism. Rather than refute its author, the environmentalist movement has attempted to ruin him.

The Lash Comes Down

Bjørn Lomborg, an associate professor of statistics at the University of Aarhus, describes himself as a suburban environmentalist who sent the occasional check to his local Greenpeace chapter. Lomborg naively accepted the conventional tenets of ideological environmentalism, summarized in his book as "The Litany."

"We are all familiar with the Litany," he writes: "The environment is in poor shape here on earth. Our resources are running out. The population is ever growing, leaving less and less to eat. The air and water are becoming ever more polluted. The planet's species are becoming extinct in vast numbers—we kill off more than 40,000 each year. The forests are disappearing, fish stocks are collapsing, and the coral reefs are dying.

"We are defiling our Earth...and will end up killing ourselves in the process. The world's eco-system is breaking down. We are fast approaching the absolute limit of viability, and the limits of growth are becoming apparent.

"We know the Litany," he adds, "and have heard it so often that yet another repetition is, well, almost reassuring."

Lomborg wrote his book after reading about the economist Julian Simon, who argued that many environmental

In a particularly breathtaking rhetorical maneuver, *Nature*'s reviewers resort to *argumentum ad Hitlerum*, likening Lomborg's discussion of extinction rates to the hateful propaganda propounded by Holocaust deniers.

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trends were in fact positive. Lomborg, steeped in the Litany, thought it would be a simple matter to refute Simon. As Lomborg delved further into the economic, demographic, and scientific evidence, however, what he found shocked him: The Litany was wrong. Lomborg discovered that "in terms of practically every measurable indicator...mankind's lot has *vastly improved*" (his emphasis).

This conclusion is, of course, anathema to the environmental ideologues, especially those whose organizations use scare campaigns to raise money. Thus it is not surprising that the World Wildlife Fund and the World Resources Institute would send out a Lomborg-bashing press release. The release, signed by WRI President Jonathan Lash, claims Lomborg's book is "riddled with misleading arguments and factual errors." It is accompanied by a document titled "Nine Things That Journalists Should Know About *The Skeptical Environmentalist*."

One of those things is that Lomborg allegedly engages in "pseudo-scholarship." As evidence, the document claims the book cites "articles that have not undergone scientific peer review." If this were enough to dismiss a book, it would sink several of the founding environmentalist books as well. *The Population Bomb* was sourced with 49 endnotes, only five of which were from peer-reviewed scientific journals. Of the 55 endnotes in *The Limits to Growth*, only three refer to peer-reviewed journals. More recently, in the Worldwatch Institute's *State of the World* 2002, the vast majority of endnotes are from newspapers, magazines, non-peer-reviewed books, government reports, and even activist pamphlets.

The Skeptical Environmentalist obviously should be held to high standards of accuracy, but to insist that it read like a scientific paper is both specious and disingenuous. The book is essentially a response to such popular environmentalist tracts as the *State of the World* report and the reams of misinformation disseminated by Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, the Union of Concerned Scientists, *The Ecologist*, the Turning Point Project, *Grist*, *Wild Earth*, and the rest of the sprawling eco-media propaganda complex. In his endnotes, Lomborg cites the numerous non-peer-reviewed exaggerations, misleading statements, and outright falsehoods offered up by environmental activists and gullible reporters, then refutes them using peer-reviewed scientific studies. Furthermore, the book broadly surveys a series of ecological, economic, and demographic trends. When Lomborg compiles and summarizes the relevant information from scientific reports and papers and from government agencies, he is obviously using the same sources and information that are generally relied on by all participants in environmental debates.

One example the press release cites of a supposedly non-authoritative source is work published recently by MIT climatologist Richard Lindzen's team suggesting that clouds in the tropics operate as an "iris." (Warmer sea temperatures in the tropics cause changes in the relative distribution of cumulus and cirrus cloud cover which allows heat to escape, helping to cool the planet.) The press release claims Lindzen's work didn't undergo peer review and belittles it by hinting that it was published in a mere "meteorological bulletin" instead of any "leading scientific journals."

The disparaged "meteorological bulletin" is the *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society*. Lindzen was astonished when I told him that the World Wildlife Fund and the World Resources Institute were claiming his work had not been peer-reviewed. The press release also initially claimed the article "had been rejected by at least one such [leading] journal." (This false claim later disappeared from the WWF/WRI anti-Lomborg Web site without acknowledgment.) Lindzen says his team submitted the article only to the *Bulletin*. New research reported in the February 1, 2002, issue of *Science*, while not confirming Lindzen's proposed iris effect, does find that the tropics are cooling the earth by expelling more heat than is being trapped by the greenhouse effect.

Against Nature

Well, that was just a press release. Surely scientific publications are safe from this sort of intellectual corruption—or are they? Sadly, the journals *Nature* and *Science* both selected reviewers who, their scientific credentials notwithstanding, are committed ideological environmentalists.

The *Nature* reviewers, Stuart Pimm and Jeff Harvey, begin their November 8, 2001, piece by attacking me, asserting that Lomborg "rehashes books like Ronald Bailey's *The True State of the Planet*." Next, they slap Lomborg with the secondary-source red herring. "Like bad term papers," they write, "Lomborg's text relies heavily on secondary sources. Out of around 2,000 references, about 5% come from news sources and 30% from web downloads—readily accessible, therefore, but frequently not peer reviewed." According to the *Nature* reviewers, "This bias towards non-peer-reviewed material over internationally reputable journals is sometimes incredible."

This charge is, again, misleading, irrelevant, and hypocritical. Pimm, for instance, has just published *The World*

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According to Pimm, an ideologically orthodox work, and a quick look at its 244 endnotes finds that at least half of his sources are from non–peer-reviewed material. There are reports from environmentalist groups such as WRI and the Audubon Society, and from international and government agencies; there are non–peer-reviewed books, such as *Cadillac Desert* and *Guns, Germs and Steel*; there are many secondary sources, including reports from *The New York Times*, *Barron's*, *The Economist*, *Vanity Fair*, and even the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. As for the "web downloads" Pimm disparages, most of Lomborg's Web references are reports by international and government organizations that collect and publish the environmental statistics that alarmists like Pimm use.

Nature's reviewers also try to refute Lomborg's claims by calling up people he cites and asking them if Lomborg is accurate. Specifically, Lomborg cites Paul Ehrlich and E.O. Wilson as supporting something called the Wildlands Project, which would reserve 50 percent of the North American continent as uninhabited wildlands. Pimm and Harvey asked Ehrlich if he supported such a plan. "I know of no such plan," replied Ehrlich. "If there were one, I wouldn't support it." Q.E.D.

Where could Lomborg have gotten such an idea? From the June 25, 1993, issue of *Science*. "The principles behind the Wildlands Project have garnered endorsements from such scientific luminaries as Edward O. Wilson of Harvard [and] Paul Ehrlich of Stanford (who describes himself as an 'enthusiastic supporter')," reported an article titled "The High Cost of Biodiversity."

In a particularly breathtaking rhetorical maneuver, *Nature*'s reviewers resort to *argumentum ad Hitlerum*, likening Lomborg's discussion of extinction rates to the hateful propaganda propounded by Holocaust deniers. "The text employs the strategy of those who, for example, argue that gay men aren't dying of AIDS, that Jews weren't singled out by Nazis for extermination and so on," Pimm and Harvey write. "'Name those who have died!' demands a hypothetical critic, who then scorns the discrepancy between those few we know by name and the unnamed millions we infer." Their assertion is false: Lomborg plainly states that the number of known extinctions is an "underestimate" of actual extinctions because the process of documenting them scientifically is so stringent. In any event, calling someone the moral equivalent of a Holocaust denier is hardly intended to encourage reasoned dialogue. It suggests the desperation of Lomborg's critics.

Blinded by Science

The review of Lomborg's book in the November 9, 2001, issue of *Science* begins well. It's written by Michael Grubb, a professor of climate change and energy policy at Imperial College in London, who acknowledges that "through much of the first half of the book, [Lomborg] offers a detailed and well-developed antidote to environmental doom-mongering. He establishes a convincing case that, in general, humanity is better off today than it has ever been in terms of standard welfare measures and of many environmental indicators." Grubb comments, "To any modern professional it is no news at all that the 1972 *Limits to Growth* study was mostly wrong or that Paul Ehrlich and Lester Brown have perennially exaggerated the problems of food supply."

Yet Grubb accuses Lomborg of "a stunning lack of attention to cause and effect," claiming he ignores the fact that improvements "have been driven by environmental concerns and the resulting policies." Grubb cites the passage of air pollution control legislation in Britain in 1956 as an example of how environmental policies have had a "dramatic impact."

In fact, it is Grubb who confuses cause with effect. *The Skeptical Environmentalist* cites many studies that show

Ideological environmentalists have simple-mindedly applied concepts from zoology and biology to human societies to create a kind of theory of political ecology. But this theory has failed. Not one of its major predictions has come true.

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the rate of improvement in air quality in both Britain and the U.S. did not change with the adoption of such laws. Lomborg demonstrates a different correlation: As average per capita income goes up, environmental measures begin to improve. This is partly because consumers can afford to switch to cleaner technologies—the source for heating and cooking, for example, moves from wood and dung to coal, then gas, then electricity. As important, wealthier consumers demand that polluters clean up their acts.

Grubb also asserts that Lomborg's book "reaches its nadir when Lomborg turns to climate economics and the Kyoto Protocol." Lomborg argues that the cost of the effort to slow global warming through drastic cuts in the use of fossil fuels—aimed at reducing carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere—likely will far outweigh any benefit.

Unfortunately for Grubb, his review appeared in the same issue of *Science* as "Global Warming Economics," in which Yale economist William Nordhaus presents calculations that generally back Lomborg's position. Nordhaus calculates that had George W. Bush not withdrawn from the Kyoto-Bonn Protocol, implementing it would have cost the United States a total of $2.5 trillion over the next 10 years. Even without American participation, the treaty will cost Kyoto signatories more than $600 billion over the same period. "The Kyoto-Bonn Accord will make little progress in slowing global warming while incurring a substantial cost," Nordhaus concludes.

Not So Warm

Perhaps the most disturbing attack on Lomborg appeared in the popular journal *Scientific American* in its January 2002 issue. The subhead of the review section, "Science defends itself against *The Skeptical Environmentalist*," gives the show away: Religious and political views need to defend themselves against criticism, but science is supposed to be a process for determining the facts. *Scientific American* selected four of Lomborg's chapters—on global warming, energy, population, and biodiversity—for separate, detailed review. The package was clearly intended to demolish Lomborg's credibility comprehensively.

Stephen Schneider critiqued Lomborg's treatment of global warming. Schneider is a distinguished climate scientist at Stanford University; he is also a fierce environmental ideologue. His first book, *The Genesis Strategy: Climate and Global Survival* (1976), offered a sweeping plan to reorganize global governance and the world's economy to meet the purported threats of catastrophic climate change and overpopulation.

Even Soylent Green Is Cheaper

Environmental indicators that things are getting better

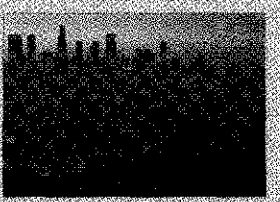
All data are from *The Skeptical Environmentalist*. All monetary figures are adjusted for inflation.

Life Expectancy

- Average life expectancy around the globe has increased from around 30 years in 1900 to 67 years today.

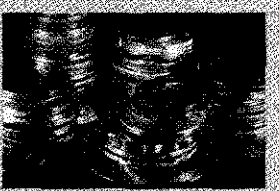
Food Consumption

- Calories consumed per person have increased by 24 percent since 1961, by 38 percent in developing countries.
- Inflation-adjusted food prices have fallen by more than two-thirds since 1957.



U.S. Air Pollution

- Particles, smoke, and soot are down 62 percent since 1957.
- Sulfur dioxide emissions are down 80 percent since 1962.
- Nitrogen oxides are down 38 percent since 1975.



Nonrenewable Resources

- The price of metals worldwide has dropped more than 50 percent since 1957.
- The price of industrial items, as indexed by *The Economist*, has fallen by 80 percent since 1845.

Energy Efficiency

- In 1800, one exajoule of energy (the energy content of 30 million tons of coal) produced $19 billion in economic value in the United States. Today, that amount of energy produces $90 billion in economic value.

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Schneider's piece is remarkable for its dishonesty. He first deploys the familiar red herring that "most of his nearly 3,000 citations are to secondary literature and media articles." Lomborg's chapter on global warming features more than 600 endnotes. Nearly half refer to publications from the U.N.'s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), and most of the rest refer to studies from such agencies as the World Meteorological Organization and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and to peer-reviewed articles from *Science*, *Nature*, the *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society*, and the like.

True, IPCC publications are "secondary literature," but Schneider himself calls the IPCC "the most credible international assessment body" dealing with climate change. (Needless to say, Schneider has not followed his own stringent rule about citing only peer-reviewed articles when discussing scientific issues and public policy. In *The Genesis Strategy*, 80 percent of the endnotes refer to newspaper and magazine articles, government reports, and other secondary sources.)

Schneider makes some more substantive claims. For brevity, let's deal with three of them: that Lomborg gets the basic climate science wrong, that he botches global warming cost-benefit analyses, and that he misrepresents the Kyoto Protocol.

Interestingly, Schneider admits his own "lingering frustration" over the scientific "uncertainties" that surround projections of future global temperatures. In any case, Lomborg does not deny global climate change. As he puts it, he "accepts the reality of man-made global warming" but questions claims such as Greenpeace's assertion that it is "one of the greatest threats to the planet." To support his skepticism, Lomborg analyzes a lot of controversial scientific information and concludes that future global warming is likely to be at the low end of the projections made by the IPCC for the next century. Lomborg agrees with those climatologists who think the earth is more likely to warm only 1.4 degrees Celsius during the next century rather than the 5.8 degrees predicted by the highest projections. He points to research suggesting that computer models that project high temperatures by 2100 do not take proper account of a number of negative feedbacks, such as clouds that tend to cool climate.

Lomborg also makes a persuasive case that due to technological improvements, the amount of greenhouse gases humanity will add to the atmosphere will likely be at the low end of the emissions scenarios put forward by the IPCC. Less greenhouse gases means lower future temperatures.

Schneider demonstrates his misunderstanding of research that contradicts his views when he dismisses Richard Lindzen's work on the iris effect by calling it a mere extrapolation from "a few years of data from a small part of one ocean." In a letter to *Scientific American*, Lindzen points out that the findings are applicable to the entire tropics. Lindzen also notes that, far from relying excessively on his findings, Lomborg devoted only a quarter of a page to his iris effect paper. "As our paper amply stresses (and as Lomborg acknowledges), there remain uncertainties in our work," he writes. Lindzen concludes that Schneider's critique of Lomborg "misrepresents both the book he is attacking and the science he is allegedly representing."

Schneider makes a number of surprising errors. He attacks Lomborg's analysis of the costs and benefits of trying to slow global warming by limiting the emissions of greenhouse gases, particularly the carbon dioxide produced by burning fossil fuels. Schneider claims that forcing industries to cut back on fossil fuels "could actually reduce some emissions at *below-zero costs*." He bases this suggestion on engineering estimates that are notoriously overoptimistic. For example, in a 1995 study published in *Into the 21st Century: Harmonizing Energy Policy, Environment, and Sustain-*

Human beings not only consume resources but make new resources with their fertile minds. People do not simply use up resources the way a herd of zebra would; they create new recipes to use resources in ever more effective ways.

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able Economic Growth, 37 companies agreed to participate in a comprehensive energy audit that the engineers predicted would increase their electricity efficiency by 11.2 percent. A year later, the companies had realized only a 3.1 percent increase in electricity efficiency. Lomborg accepts that energy efficiency can be tightened up marginally, but he is correct that no one seriously believes that efficiency alone can replace the services provided by the energy that would be lost in cutting fossil fuel use by as much as 60 percent.

Perhaps even more misleading is Schneider's discussion of the Kyoto Protocol. Schneider dismisses Lomborg's analysis as a straw man argument. You decide.

Lomborg suggests this thought experiment: Extend to the end of the century Kyoto's provisions for cutting carbon dioxide emissions to around 5 percent below 1990 levels. Then examine the costs. Lomborg knows global warming activists actually intend to force the world to cut back global fossil fuel use by at least 50 percent below model projections. But by looking at what it would cost to implement the comparatively mild Kyoto, one gets a good sense of the magnitude of the problem.

Climatologists widely agree that implementing the Kyoto cuts would reduce the globe's average temperature by an undetectable 0.15 degree Celsius by 2100. Achieving that minimal climatological result could, according to some econometric models, cost as much as $1 trillion. As mentioned earlier, had the United States joined the Kyoto Protocol, overall costs would have been even higher, costing the U.S. $2.5 trillion over 10 years.

The mean estimate of the total cost for the entire world of doing nothing about global warming is around $5 trillion over the next century. In other words, if humanity simply allowed the pace of global warming to proceed, the median estimate is that it would cost $5 trillion to adapt to it. Estimates for different proposed cuts in fossil fuel use aimed at stabilizing the atmosphere at various average temperatures run between $8 trillion and $38 trillion over the next 100 years. Assuming the lower cost, this means it would cost the world $8 trillion to avoid $5 trillion in costs due to global warming.

Concession Stand

Scientific American's second review is by John P. Holdren, a longtime collaborator with Paul Ehrlich who teaches environmental policy at Harvard. His review boils down to a bait-and-switch strategy: He answers a question that has not been asked.

Holdren starts by claiming that Lomborg is "asking the wrong question" about energy. "The energy problem is not primarily a matter of depletion of resources in any global sense but rather of environmental impacts and sociopolitical risks," he claims. Holdren further asserts that "few if any environmentalists" believe "that the world is running out of energy." Earlier in his career, Holdren wasn't so sure. In his 1971 Sierra Club book, *Energy: A Crisis in Power*, Holdren declared that "it is fair to conclude that under almost any assumptions, the supplies of crude petroleum and natural gas are severely limited. The bulk of energy likely to flow from these sources may have been tapped within the lifetime of many of the present population." Oil and gas are not "energy," but they are the cheapest and most easily transportable sources for it. Nevertheless, Holdren now concedes that Lomborg is right: The world is not running out of energy.

But as Lomborg notes at the beginning of his chapter, some environmentalists are once again warning about impending oil shortages. Kenneth Deffeyes predicts that world oil production will peak between 2004 and 2008 and never rise again. Just two months prior to Holdren's review of Lomborg, *Scientific American* published a very favorable review of *Hubbert's Peak* under the title "The End of Oil." The reviewer asserted that "if nothing is done to reduce the increasing global thirst for oil energy prices will soar and economies will be plunged into recession as they desperately search for alternatives." Back in March 1998, *Scientific American* published "The End of Cheap Oil," which suggested a growing petroleum scarcity.

In his chapter, Lomborg analyzes current trends in coal, oil, and natural gas supplies and prices and explains how the transition to other energy sources is likely to take place over the next few decades. Holdren grudgingly commends Lomborg, declaring that he "has some generally sensible things to say about the large contributions that are possible from increased energy end-use efficiency and from renewable energy." Holdren claims Lomborg selectively quotes the literature on energy, yet he gives no counter-examples of what he thinks the proper literature is. Holdren also complains that Lomborg doesn't delve deeply enough into the politics of energy, particularly the fact that much of the world's oil reserves are in the volatile Middle East. But this is an unreasonable demand; Lomborg's chief goal is to dispel environmentalist misinformation about future resource availability.

The third attack reviewer is John Bongaarts, a vice president at the Population Council. Like Holdren, Bongaarts essentially concedes that Lomborg is right. Bongaarts

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notes that "people are living longer and healthier lives" and "women are bearing fewer children," among news highlighted by Lomborg. Bongaarts even admits that "environmentalists who predicted widespread famine and blamed rapid population growth for many of the world's environmental, economic, and social problems overstated their cases."

Bongaarts also concedes that "Lomborg correctly notes that poverty is the main cause of hunger and malnutrition" and that despite an increase in world population from 1 billion in 1800 to 6 billion today, "diets have improved. Lomborg and other technological optimists are probably correct in claiming that overall world food production can be increased substantially over the next few decades. Average current crop yields are still below the levels achieved in the most productive countries...."

Yet Bongaarts makes the unsupported claim that future increases in food supplies will cost more, even though food prices have been declining steadily for two centuries. The fact is that all leading agencies, such as the International Food Policy Research Institute, project lower food prices. Sadly, Bongaarts cannot resist deploying the inflammatory accusation from Paul and Anne Ehrlich that humanity is "turning the earth into a giant human feedlot." That is simply not true. Most global food agencies project that the area of the earth's surface devoted to agriculture may grow from 11 percent to 12 percent by 2030. Other analysts, such as agronomist Paul Waggoner, believe improvements in agricultural productivity may be so rapid that less area will be devoted to farming and more land will revert to nature.

Going Extinct

Finally, Thomas Lovejoy critiqued Lomborg's biodiversity chapter. Lovejoy was U.S. director of the World Wildlife Fund for more than a decade and is now the chief biodiversity adviser to the World Bank; he's been a biodiversity alarmist for a long time. At a 1979 symposium at Brigham Young University, he announced that he had made "an estimate of extinctions that will take place between now and the end of the century. Attempting to be conservative wherever possible, I still came up with a reduction of global diversity between one-seventh and one-fifth." If Lovejoy had been right, between 15 and 20 percent of all species alive two decades ago would be extinct right now. No one believes that anywhere near that many extinctions have occurred.

In his review, Lovejoy simply ignores the many overblown assertions (including his own) during the past two decades that 40,000—or 100,000 or even 250,000—species are going extinct each year and that as many as half of all species on Earth would be extinct by the year 2000. Yet he declares that the biologist Norman Myers, who first offered the 40,000 figure, "deserves credit for being the first to say that the number [of species going extinct] was large," even though Myers "did not specify the method of arriving at his estimate." Lovejoy is essentially commending Myers for making up a number to get public attention.

Lovejoy notes that today environmentalists no longer give out a number of species going extinct and that instead "current estimates are usually given in terms of the increases over normal extinction rates....That science does not know the total number of species does not prevent an estimation of extinction *rates*." These estimated extinction rates are derived from the species/area curve relation that predicts that if 90 percent of a habitat is cut down, half of the species living there will go extinct. As Lomborg points out, biologists who have tried to count species in three areas that have undergone such dramatic conversions in habitats—Eastern North America, Brazil's Atlantic Coast forests, and Puerto Rico—have not found that the species/area curve relation holds. In other words, the extinction

As more critics point ever more insistently at the yawning gap between the doomsayers' claims and scientific and economic reality, the environmental ideologues are becoming ever more frantic.

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rates of known species are far lower than predicted by theory.

Today the general estimate is that the rate of extinctions is between 100 and 1,000 times the "natural" rate. Lomborg points out in an endnote that "it is worth contemplating how most green organizations today have stopped talking about percentages and started talking about multiples of natural extinctions, although the latter is much less informative. It seems probable that this shift is due in no small respect to the latter sounding more ominous." Lovejoy dismisses this observation as "cynical." Given Lovejoy's easy acceptance of Myers' alarmist claims two decades ago, he should know cynicism when he sees it. Tellingly, Lovejoy does not actually question Lomborg's estimate that some 0.7 percent of species will disappear over the next 50 years if current trends continue. In fact, the rates of species extinction cited by Lovejoy and others are consistent with Lomborg's estimate. The disappearance of 0.7 percent of species is lamentable, but it is a far cry from the extinction of half the world's species.

In a final nasty twist, *Scientific American* threatened to sue Lomborg for copyright infringement if he did not take down from his Web site, www.lomborg.com, his discussion of its critiques, in which, for easy reference, he interpolated his responses in the text of the reviews. Evidently, *Scientific American* is not interested in dialogue and peer review of its own work.

Tottering Greens

Ideological environmentalists have simple-mindedly applied concepts from zoology and biology to human societies to create a kind of theory of political ecology. But this theory has failed. Not one of its major predictions has come true: There have been no global famines, no cancer epidemics, no massive resource depletion. The ideologues have been proven wrong because they fail to understand that the economic processes in which human beings engage are radically different from the ecological processes that govern other creatures. Human beings not only consume resources but make new resources with their fertile minds. People do not simply use up resources the way a herd of zebra would; they create new recipes to use resources in ever more effective ways. Coal, tin, fresh water, forests, and so forth may all be limited, but the ideas for extending and improving their uses are not.

"You cannot go to any corner of the globe and not find some degree of environmental awareness and some amount of environmental politics," declared Christopher Flavin, now head of the Worldwatch Institute, at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro 10 years ago. Environmentalism, Flavin concluded, is the "most powerful political ideal today."

Since that Earth Summit, Flavin's brand of environmentalism has indeed grown more powerful. The Kyoto treaty seeks to control projected man-made global warming. The Biosafety Protocol, which regulates international trade in genetically enhanced crops, has been negotiated and adopted. Sweeping plans to reorganize the world's economy along environmentalist lines are being developed and actively pursued.

But at the moment of its political ascendancy, it is environmentalism, not modern civilization, that is tottering. As more critics—demographers, epidemiologists, toxicologists, climatologists, economists, and, yes, statisticians—point ever more insistently at the yawning gap between the doomsayers' claims and scientific and economic reality, the ideologues are becoming ever more frantic to deny the growing contradictions.

Their variety of environmentalism is merely the latest totalizing ideology to arise in the West over the past two centuries. Like communism before it, it wants to claim the mantle of objective science to justify its political programs, because in the post-Enlightenment world science is the final arbiter of what is true. But as all totalists eventually discover, an ideology's failure to correspond to reality is ultimately fatal. ▮

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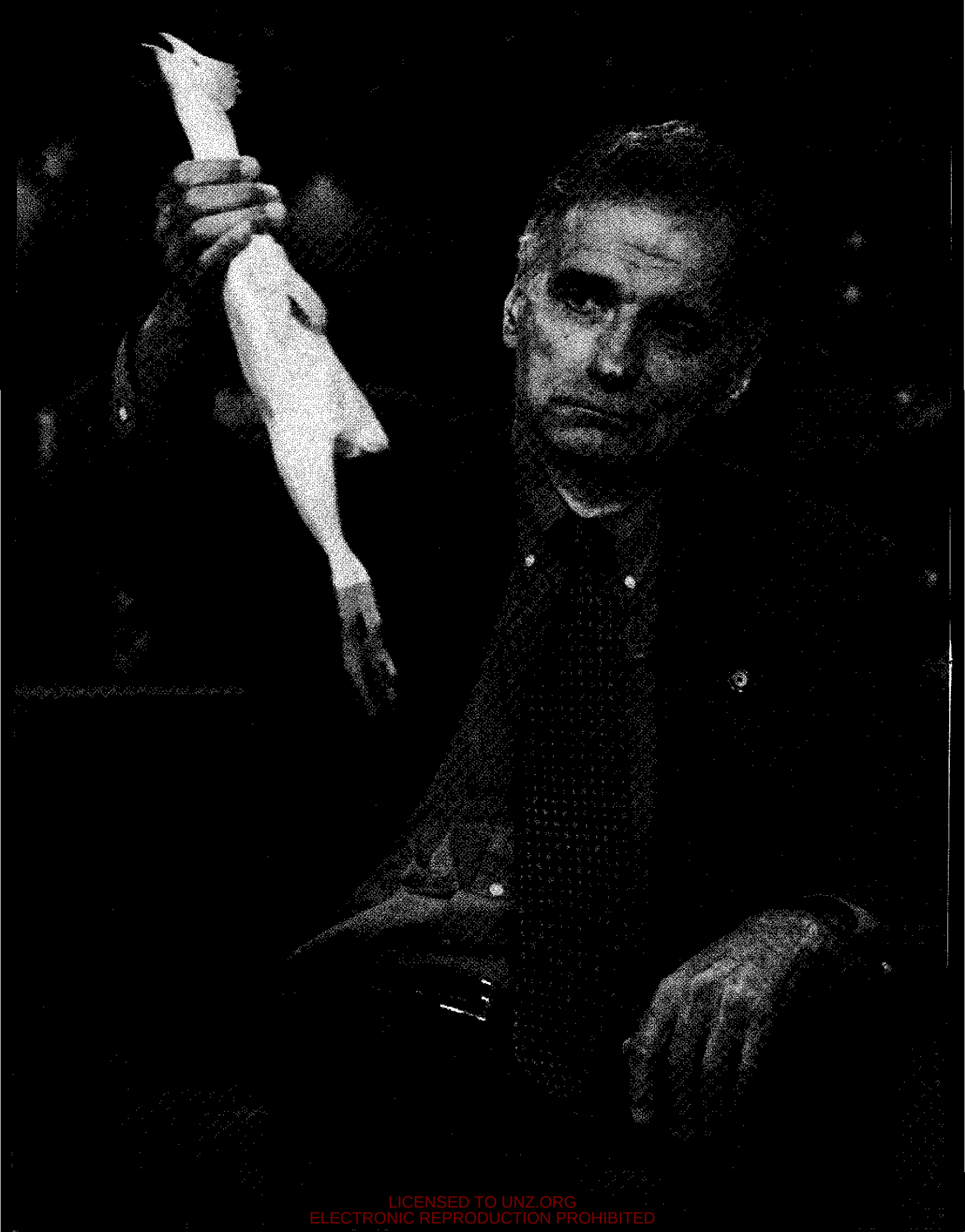

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Speaking Lies to Power

Ralph Nader fudges the truth just like a real politician

Matt Welch

Crashing the Gates: How to Tell the Truth and Still Run for President, by Ralph Nader, New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 383 pages, $24.95

THE SUBTITLE OF Ralph Nader's new campaign memoir is "How to Tell the Truth and Still Run for President." On page 261, Nader states flatly that it's "not true" most of his 2.8 million votes otherwise would have gone to Al Gore. His evidence? "Exit polls by Democratic pollster Stan Greenberg showed that 25 percent of our voters would have voted for Bush, 38 percent would have voted for Gore, and the rest would not have voted at all." In a February appearance on C-SPAN, Nader quoted the same figures as fact, without attribution.

Well, it is not a fact, and it is not "the truth." More accurately, it is the one survey Nader could find that comes close to serving his own personal agenda—in this case, to suggest despite a mountain of evidence to the contrary that maybe he didn't cost Gore the election after all.

It turns out there were other surveys addressing this very question, but Nader doesn't like bringing them up. The Voter News Service, which interviewed 13,000 voters instead of Greenberg's 1,000, estimated that Nader supporters would have chosen Gore over Bush by 47 percent to 21 percent, with the rest abstaining. A CNN study of Florida—where Bush beat Gore by 537 votes and the Green Party candidate received more than 90,000—put the Gore preference at a whopping 60 percent. Both polls were in the public domain by November 8, 2000, when Nader answered his first two "Did you spoil the election?" questions at the morning-after press conference by quoting that legendary number-cruncher, Tom Brokaw. First, he offered this: "Tom Brokaw said that most of my vote came from nonvoters who came in for the first time, young voters, and people who dropped out of voting for many years." When confronted with the Voter News Service data, Nader replied: "First of all, I really don't know the way these figures play out. If you hear Tom Brokaw, you would think that was not the case."

Eighteen hours earlier, I had watched the Nader 2000 crew engage in a far more flagrant manipulation of the truth, more egregious than anything else I witnessed during my two months covering the campaign for the lefty news site WorkingForChange.com. Even before the first preliminary exit poll data crossed the wires, young staffers, on the orders of campaign headquarters, were frantically devising multiple formulas to "prove" that Nader didn't cost Gore the election, no matter what the results might say later. "That's shocking," I told one of the harried idealists charged with carrying out the deception. The faces around the computer, for what it's worth, did not register any surprise.

We've come to expect this kind of professional dishonesty from the two major political parties, which is one of the reasons many of us find them repellent. But coming from a "purity" candidate who wants to lecture us on "how to tell the truth," it suggests a certain self-delusion. It's one thing to display the schizophrenia inherent in trying to cobble together a coalition of disaffected lifelong Democrats and party-hating anti-globalization activists. It's quite another to "speak truth to power" by fudging it.

On the campaign trail, I saw Nader tell a variety of whoppers: that "the Social Security 'crisis' is a phony problem invented by George W. Bush to make his Wall Street buddies even more rich," that Western Europe had "abolished poverty," that Americans get "90 percent of their news from television." In *Crashing the Gates* his tall tales range from the banal (saying that a disastrous appearance on *The Tonight Show* "went well," without mentioning that he was mocked by Jay Leno, a guest, and several newspapers after blurting out the word

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"Strawberries!" when asked what he does for fun) to the vindictive (falsely accusing several reporters of being uninterested in his appeal to "non-voters" because "their experience had taught them not to inquire into such elusive quests") to the fantastic ("Most of our stands and positions are supported by most Americans").

Most Americans, it seems safe to wager, are not in favor of abolishing the death penalty, doubling the minimum wage, taxing every stock transaction, beefing up the Internal Revenue Service, reorienting the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to "fight global infectious diseases," charging broadcast companies "billions" in spectrum "rent," rewriting the Constitution to create European-style proportional representation, and erecting a Museum of Tort Law in Winsted, Connecticut. Yet Nader seems to believe that if we just remove the corporate blinders from our eyes, Americans will naturally embrace this political program and the Greens will become a "majoritarian" party.

This delusion would be harder to maintain if people actually challenged Nader on his positions, but they generally don't. His campaign was woefully undercovered by the national media—WorkingforChange was the only news organization, to my knowledge, that followed him around full time for as long as three months—and the cross-examinations he did receive were almost exclusively limited to his impact on the Gore-Bush race. In left-liberal circles, the policy debates usually centered on Ralph's preference for "indiscriminatory injustice" issues over identity politics. His simplistic and extremely rare forays into international affairs—which rarely went beyond withdrawing unilaterally from trade treaties and orienting policy to "support workers and peasants for a change instead of dictatorships and oligarchies"—were basically given a bye.

Nader's all-consuming ideology, the lens through which he views everything from auto safety to "chit-chat," is that corporations, if left unchecked, will seize control of everything and enslave mankind. Corporatists, Nader writes, "opposed the Revolutionary War...maintained slavery, opposed women's right to vote," and fought against "civil rights, civil liberties, consumer and environmental protection, Medicare, Medicaid," etc. Not getting enough press coverage? That's because "corporations...are not likely to go out of their way to cover candidates who are critics of their major advertisers." What's the worst thing you can call George W. Bush? "A corporation, disguised as a human."

If you are willing to say bad things about corporations and good things about the Green Party, you are a Friend of Ralph, no matter what lunatic nonsense you may also spout. Nader rallies usually contained the classic elements of any IMF protest: "Fuck Capitalism" banners, middle-aged American revolutionaries praising Fidel Castro, kids handing out Maoist newspapers, pig puppets for freeing Mumia. Post-speech question-and-answer sessions frequently were showcases for doctrinaire Marxists quoting ready-made lies about American foreign policy and shadowy media cabals. Not once in two months, or in 383 pages, did I see Nader try to call any of his supporters on their wrongheaded ravings—unless they had something to do with identity politics or with tipping the election to George Bush.

If anything, Nader has bent over backward to portray his beloved "Seattle Coalition" as a remarkably coherent movement of reform-spirited democrats grossly misunderstood by the corporate press. "What, pray tell, were they protesting that the media found so difficult to describe?" he writes about protesters at the Republican Convention. After a laundry list of causes, he answers his own riddle: "Simply put, the entire agenda for progressive liberal politics."

So you have a movement of people whose incoherent fantasies are not challenged by their putative leader and a candidate whose fibs and crude renderings of international affairs receive little scrutiny from either the media or his own supporters. This is the politics of soft consensus, not a rigorous culture of truth telling, and the sooner Greens confront this disconnect, the sooner they will escape from the political margins.

What do Nader supporters agree on? Almost all share his anti-corporate ideology, most are reflexive critics of American foreign policy, and many harbor the conceit of considering themselves part of the brave minority courageous enough to voice "dissent." When talk about global issues gets too specific, they're more than happy to defer to Noam Chomsky, Edward Said, and Howard Zinn, each of whom Nader singles out for praise in the book. Taken together, it is an intellectual feedback loop, and feedback loops make for slippery footing when the hammer of history crashes down.

That is what happened on September 11. And the reactions from the

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Naderite left were disastrous.

In the first days, anti-globalization protesters made new signs and became the anti-war movement without missing a beat. The Seattle Coalition's chaotic mouthpiece, Indymedia.org, ran articles calling the Pentagon victims "war criminals." Chomsky, in his first published paragraph after September 11, compared the attack to a previous U.S. bombing of a Sudanese pharmaceutical factory.

September 11 showed that when it comes to foreign policy and critical thinking, the Naderite left is not yet ready for prime time.

Said complained of "people flinging about words like 'terrorism' and 'freedom,'" terms he considers "large abstractions [that] have mostly hidden sordid material interests." Zinn suggested the U.S. will never be truly safe from terrorism until it adopts universal health care. An Ohio Green, Jim Klosterman, wrote—on September 11—that "the United States' foreign policy with Israel and the military aid to them may be the [ex]acerbating fact that lead [sic] to the sad events." Bogus statistics about dead Iraqi babies competed for space with aggrieved rants about Henry Kissinger. While warm bodies were still being pulled from the World Trade Center rubble, a bruised nation was receiving earfuls from its "dissidents" about how the U.S. was finally getting a taste of its own medicine. Those who took note of the rhetorical onslaught might never forget.

Nader, wisely, kept a very low profile at first, declining to be interviewed and discouraging public questions about September 11. As far as I can tell, his first published column after the attacks didn't appear until late October; it was about nuclear plant safety. His first major speech on the topic, on October 11, reiterated his "workers and peasants" formulation, asserted that "we're not going to be able to bomb our way to justice," and warned, "How many hundreds of thousands of Afghanis are going to die or starve to death or be sick to death because they don't have medicines as a result of this destruction?" During his book tour, he's been repeating a line about "burning down a haystack in order to look for a needle—and they still haven't found the needle." When asked by interviewers what he would have done in lieu of bombing, he speaks of invoking "the doctrine of hot pursuit" using "spies, bribes, and commandos." And then the conversations quickly move on to "wartime profiteers" and cockpit safety regulations.

September 11 showed that when it comes to foreign policy and critical thinking, the Naderite left is not yet ready for prime time. Which is a shame, because the consumer advocate and his followers have many useful things to say about corporate welfare, third-party access, political hypocrisy, civil liberties, drug legalization, and a host of other issues the Democrats and Republicans largely ignore. And for all its excesses, the leftist foreign policy critique about supporting dictators and addressing "root causes" has found new resonance in the past months. Nader is clearly licking his chops at the Enron collapse, and all signs point to an even more vigorous run for the presidency in 2004.

But you can't launch a convincing "purity" campaign if you don't respect the facts. When the filmmaker Michael Moore introduced Nader at campaign rallies, he was fond of saying that the candidate was "ready to rock this nation with the truth!" Since September 11, that's been about backwards: The nation has shown it is more than ready to rock Michael Moore and his pals with its very own version of "the truth." Ralph Nader needs to learn that there are people who care as much about the issues as he, yet honestly arrive at very different conclusions. He needs to stop judging people's virtue by whether they support him for president. And unless he wants to become the same kind of politician he claims to despise, he needs to stop treating facts like pastries in a buffet line.

"Politics, as it is practiced, is the art of having it both ways," he writes, with some disgust, on page 8. A year into the Bush presidency he helped deliver, Ralph Nader looks very much like he's practicing politics. ▪

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Shoot the Messenger

Hollywood calls Western Union again

Tim Cavanaugh

EVEN IN A cinematic culture where the studio that Sam Goldwyn co-founded thought a no-laugh-track version of *Hogan's Heroes* (*Hart's War*, with Bruce Willis in the Bob Crane role) was worth an $80 million investment, the triumphant return of the message movie stands out as a particularly puzzling development.

Throughout the 1990s, while high-minded critics carped about

mindless action films, a potent counterforce was brewing, with the result that we suffered a raft of socially conscious pictures arguing against corporate polluters (*Erin Brockovich*), police misconduct (*The Hurricane*), the war on drugs (*Traffic*), the power of big tobacco (*The Insider*), the indiscriminate rounding up of Arabs (*The Siege*), and more. The trend may have reached its apotheosis this February, when *John Q.*, a sermon on national health care whose very title announces its dedication to the common man, took in a healthy $40 million in its first two weeks.

Although Hollywood has always believed the best way to address any social ill is to make an all-star movie about it, the message movie has had a rough ride through most of film history. The oft-quoted Goldwynism, "If you want to send a message, call Western Union," should have been the last word on the matter, but that hasn't stopped producers from trying.

The modern message movie may be traced to 1947, when Elia Kazan (who would go on to direct such issue films as *Pinky*, *A Face in the Crowd*, *Wild River*, and *On the Waterfront*) came out with *Gentlemen's Agreement*, a lecture on the dangers of anti-Semitism. Meanwhile, Edward Dmytryk directed his own anti-anti-Semitism movie, *Crossfire*. This convergence of two films on the same theme was propitious, and it ushered in a brave new era of didactic pictures such as *Home of the Brave* (racism in the armed services) and *Boomerang!* (rush to judgment).

Despite Sam Goldwyn's warning, the message movie flourished after World War II. The once highly regarded producer/director Stanley Kramer served up more homilies than Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, including *The Defiant Ones* (moral: we're all brothers under the skin), *On the Beach* (nuclear war is wrong), *Inherit the Wind* (creationism is silly), and *Home of the Brave* (we're all brothers, but you can cure a black man of paralysis with racial slurs). Richard Brooks treated the "juvenile delinquency" crisis of the '50s in *The Blackboard Jungle* and is credited by boyish critic Leonard Maltin with forcing Hollywood to "grow up." Nicholas Ray not only blew the lid off an epidemic of castrating mother figures in *Rebel Without a Cause*, he warned of the growing perils of cortisone addiction in *Bigger Than Life*. Sidney Lumet, later famous for '70s message flicks *Network* (kill your television) and *Serpico* (cops are corrupt) offered up *Twelve Angry Men* (justice is everyone's responsibility) to Eisenhower's America.

Later came Norman Jewison, who directed the Sidney Poitier classic *In the Heat of the Night*, Sylvester Stallone's Jimmy Hoffa valentine *F.I.S.T.*, and Al Pacino's windbag-lawyer classic *...And Justice for All*—and in 1999 revived his career by directing Denzel Washington in *The Hurricane*. If the genre produced few pictures that stand up over time, it did allow for some gripping dramas, such as Lumet's *Fail Safe*, and some striking moments of refreshingly unabashed agitprop, such as *Salt of the Earth*, the banned 1954 union film calling on the workers of the New World to unite.

By the late 1960s, however, the message movie's buttoned-down pieties, not to mention its confidence in various authority figures to solve social problems, seemed embarrassingly dated. Despite the occasional

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'70s Oscar magnet such as *Norma Rae*, social consciousness migrated to television, where the fabled mini-series *Roots* and countless movies of the week alerted audiences to the crises of racism, AIDS, bulimia, deadbeat dads, gay relatives, and so on.

The renaissance of big-screen, do-gooder potboilers in the 1990s, while unexpected, jibes with the middling-progressive sensibilities for which Hollywood has always been known. It's not surprising, then, that one striking feature of the current batch of messengers is that they have fitting antecedents in the old batch.

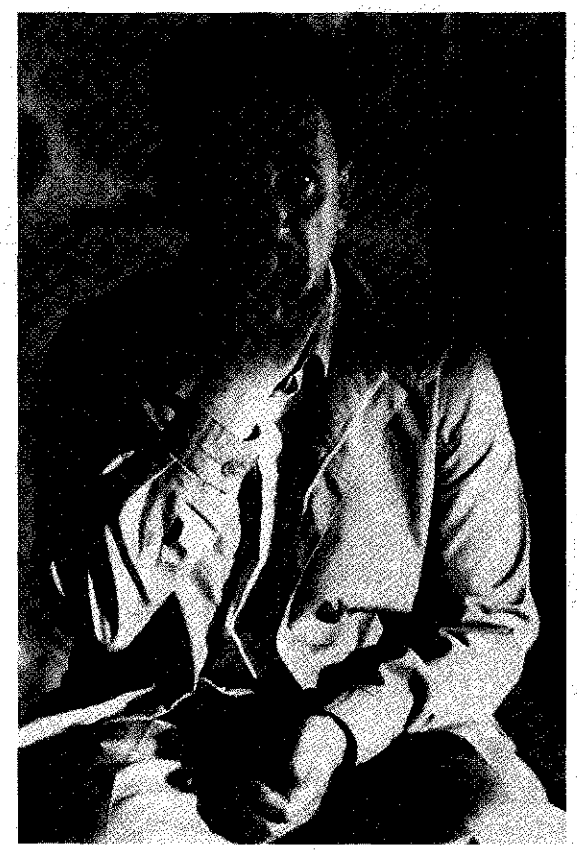
For the first 15 minutes, *John Q* almost looks like a deft piece of agitprop, setting its message in the kind of stark terms that would make a Havana censor blush.

Ed Zwick, the producer/director who alternates short-lived TV entertainments (*thirtysomething*, *My So-Called Life*) with solemn celluloid encyclicals on race (*Glory*), civil liberties (*The Siege*), and mentally retarded parenting (*I Am Sam*), is a dead ringer for Stanley Kramer. Denzel Washington is our Sidney Poitier, the handsome everyman who nobly serves as conscience of the nation. Steven Soderbergh, the technically proficient director of *Erin Brockovich* and *Traffic*, could be the second coming of Sidney Lumet, or perhaps even the great Kazan himself (minus only the propensity to name Communist names in front of Congress).

Yet the arrival of *John Q* indicates the message movie is already sliding into decadence. Roger Ebert called it "the kind of movie *Mad* magazine prays for," and its execution is so sloppy you may get nostalgic for the subtle artistry of *Judgment at Nuremberg* (Kramer's thumbs-down review of Nazi Germany) or *Hewitt's Just Different* (an after-school special advocating kindness toward the mentally challenged).

For the first 15 minutes or so, *John Q* almost looks like a deft piece of agitprop, setting its message in the kind of stark terms that would make a Havana censor blush. Though ostensibly set in the present day, *John Q* exists in a kind of eternal movie 1975 where cars are always being repossessed, the factory is perpetually shutting down, hospitals are larded with religious statuary, an honest working man can't get a break, and even the telephones are rotary. The spectacle of Washington—an actor in constant danger of vanishing into a cloud of boring rectitude—pleading and sweating for the attention of evil bureaucrats, all to save a son who is cuter than Webster and Gary Coleman combined, is as gripping as the film gets.

The great generation of socially conscious filmmakers would have known how to create



I'm OK, You Suck

Popular advice books get tough

by Jesse Walker

The two best-selling advice gurus in the U.S. would like us to call them by their first names. But don't be fooled by such folksy familiarity. Dr. Phil (author of the chart-topper *Relationship Rescue*) and Dr. Laura (*10 Stupid Things Couples Do to Mess Up Their Relationships*) have the bedside manner of a drill sergeant and their prescription for success is a bitter pill to swallow indeed.

In a publishing cohort dominated by the awkward, plodding images of John Gray (who in addition to his trademarked punchline—"Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus"—often speaks of "love tanks") and the feel-good gruel of the nauseating *Chicken Soup* series, Laura Schlessinger and Phil C. McGraw have introduced a clinical level of cynicism, detachment, and practicality. "You think I'm teaching you how to be manipulative," runs a typical Dr. Phil directive. "You're right." Asks Dr. Laura, "Is compromise really a good idea?"

Although getting what you want from your friends and acquaintances is important, »

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maximum tension from the film's Kafkaesque view of health care. But *John Q*, despite its apparent conviction that we're all waiting around for Hillary Clinton and Ira Magaziner to make us well (the script, unsurprisingly, was written in 1993), lacks the courage to build a movie around this frustration. The writer, James Kearns, who cut his teeth with TV scripts for *Highway to Heaven* and *Jake and the Fatman*, doesn't even demonstrate much awareness of how richly complicated the health care system can be.

Instead, the picture shifts into a hostage drama of white-knuckle boredom. All the clichés of hostage movies—the SWAT sniper crawling through an air duct, the crowd of unruly rubberneckers who cheer for the hostage taker, the meretricious newsman who grandly announces, "This is my white Bronco!"—get trotted out, and the burden of broadcasting the picture's propaganda falls exclusively on a series of monologues, dialogues, and pettifogs.

At one point, as soon as it's clear that nothing very big is going to happen in the standoff, the hostage taker and his charges settle in for a bull session about the ills of the contemporary health care system that seems like something you might catch on C-SPAN on a Saturday afternoon. Conveniently, the hostage crisis also kicks off a nationwide debate on the single-payer health plan. When a movie ends by recapping its themes in clips from *Politically Incorrect*, something's gone seriously wrong.

There may be a bigger problem here than just some poor artistic decisions. The M.O. of the classic message movie was not specifically to lecture but to dramatize the issue at hand.

This is what allows pictures like *The Defiant Ones* and *The Blackboard Jungle* to stand as collectible pieces of crude popular art that, like the songs of the labor movement, can be appreciated no matter how indifferent you may be to their politics. Along the way, the heroes were pitied, the villains were booed, and we all learned a lesson. After all, if it hadn't been for the mid-'80s TV apocalypse *The Day After*, people would still believe nuclear wars are way cool and should be waged as often as possible.

In today's message movies, too often the issues are presented not as fodder for stirring speeches or rabble-rousing drama but because their makers seem to believe the audience needs remedial education. *John Q*'s end titles even lay out nationwide statistics on insurance coverage and transplant waiting lists.

Hollywood dilettantes are a particularly ill-chosen group of spokespeople for uninsured families, oppressed minorities, and other huddled masses; the reliance on statistics and abstracts, rather than drama, to deliver messages may be an indication of just how far, in shared-experience terms, Tinseltown is from the people for whom it speaks. As a result, the message movie is not only back but simpler and more didactic than ever. The only question is whether audiences will be slow enough to follow along. ▯

Tim Cavanaugh (tim@simpleton.com) writes for Agence France-Presse, Salon, and The Washington Post.

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Ill-Treated

The continuing history of psychiatric abuses

Brian Doherty

Mad in America: Bad Science, Bad Medicine, and the Enduring Mistreatment of the Mentally Ill, by Robert Whitaker, Cambridge, Mass.: Perseus, 334 pages, $27

ON JANUARY 18, 1959, 17-year-old Jonika Upton was committed by her parents to the Nazareth Sanatorium in Albuquerque. They were sure she was tetched in the head; she had dated someone who seemed homosexual and carried around books by Proust. The final straw was Jonika's fleeing to Santa Cruz with her new boyfriend, a 22-year-old artist.

Her new caretakers ran high-voltage electric currents through Jonika 62 times in three months. Despite her doctor's expectations, this treatment did not heal her mental illness. The doctor lamented, "She has not become nearly as foggy as we might wish." It wasn't all bad news, though: "Of course, there is considerable confusion and general dilapidation of thought."

Even after two more weeks of the most sophisticated psychiatric treatment around—further electric shocks to a bound, usually terrified patient—the doctor could only note, regretfully, that "under this type of treatment a patient usually shows a great deal more fogging and general confusion than she has." By the end of April, Jonika's doctors couldn't hide their pride: She was pissing on herself and wandering around naked, and she didn't know if her father was still alive. Their mission completed, the doctors knew it was safe to send Jonika home.

How you react to Jonika's story is a good indicator of how you will react to *Mad in America*, the new book by award-winning science and medicine journalist Robert Whitaker. If you see the doctors of Nazareth Sanatorium as inhuman tormentors, you will see this book as a hideous history of unspeakable practices. If you think the doctors were honorable medical professionals providing the best available treatment to cure a bona fide mental illness caused by imbalances in the brain, you may think Whitaker has traduced the noble profession of psychiatry.

In his quietly intense history of the discipline's ever-shifting etiologies and cures, Whitaker sets out to show that psychiatric treatments cause more harm than good and that they are imposed, either through force or through subterfuge, on people who we have decided don't deserve or need respect. Psychiatrists would say these practices actually grant the mad the greatest respect we can give them: respect for their higher, sane selves—the selves they would want to be if only they weren't so desperately, sadly ill. Jonika, according to this view, would want to make sure she was never permitted to flaunt Proust or leave her parents' home in Albuquerque for Santa Cruz and her boyfriend. By the standards of that day, agreed upon by respected medical professionals, a young lady would have to be crazy to choose such a course.

Post–Nurse Ratched, it might seem a cultural commonplace that madhouses are mad and that institutional psychiatry has a lot of dehumanizing psychic (and physical) violence to answer for. As long ago as 1728, the novelist Daniel Defoe noted that life in a typical asylum is enough to drive anyone mad. As recently as 1946, *Life* magazine was exposing many of America's mental institutions as "snakepits." In his 1948 book *The Shame of the States*, Albert Deutsch wrote that public asylums reminded him of "Nazi concentration camps at Belsen and Buchenwald...buildings swarming with naked humans herded like cattle and treated with less concern, pervaded by a fetid odor so heavy, so nauseating, that the stench seemed to have almost a physical existence of its own."

Treatment Guide

that isn't Laura and Phil's real subject. The true object of their attention is you, and they're not sure they like what they see. A typical caller to Dr. Laura's popular national radio show contends that she treats her daughter badly because she herself was "emotionally abused." "So what?" Dr. Laura retorts. In his books, Dr. Phil is less brutal, but just as direct: "Bottom line: You are not a victim. You are creating the situations you are in....This is not a theory; it is life."

Between Dr. Laura's powers-of-10-based "Stupid Things" series and Dr. Phil's Oprah-spawned "life makeovers," the industry once best known for assuring everyone that they're OK has received a powerful corrective. Not only are you not OK, it's also all your fault.

Books intended to guide readers along the path of life have been staples of American publishing since Benjamin Franklin's autobiography. From the preposterous New Age mind cure of Deepak Chopra to the hard-nosed confidence of *Think and Grow Rich*, few offer much beyond a variation on working hard, being specific in formulating your goals, and treating others well in order to get what you want (whether you call this manipulation or "karma"). Still, that hasn't stopped self-help from becoming a multi-billion dollar industry. And the profit margin gets better every day.

Through the advent of bullet-pointed lists and fill-in-the-blank charts, on a strict »

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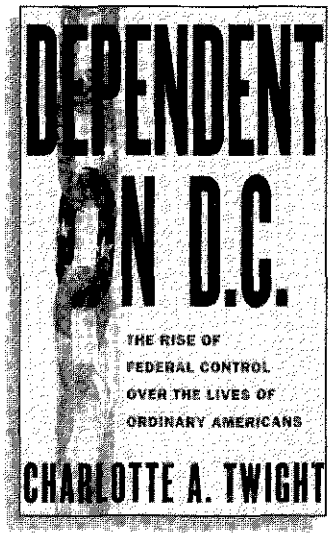
This addiction cannot be found in a bottle



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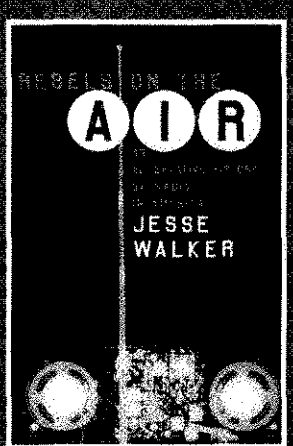

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Is this book just old news, then, a compendium of out-of-date horror stories from benighted days? Is it, in fact, an insult to the dedicated psychiatrists of today, who are doing their best to deal with the knotty mysteries of the human mind and how it can go awry?

It's easy to dismiss the critiques offered by Deutsch, Ken Kesey, and other such writers as irrelevant to contemporary psychiatry, which presumably has advanced beyond the primitive techniques they attacked (although electroshock has been making a comeback lately). What distinguishes *Mad in America* is that it draws a clear line from what everyone agrees were insane abuses of the past to the perfectly respectable "best practices" of today. Whitaker concludes that "today we can be certain of only one thing: The day will come when people will look back at our current medicines for schizophrenia and the stories we tell to patients about their abnormal brain chemistry, and they will shake their heads in utter disbelief."

Whitaker understates his case here, as he does—to fine effect—throughout the book. The story he tells should elicit not just head shaking but outrage from any reader who cares about human dignity and liberty.

This book is so dense with stories of horrific damage done in the name of psychiatric science that it's a credit to Whitaker's masterfully controlled tone that the reader isn't numbed. *Mad in America* is a powerfully disturbing reading experience. Whitaker thoroughly exposes psychiatry as a power-hungry, elitist guild practicing social control under the guise of medicine.

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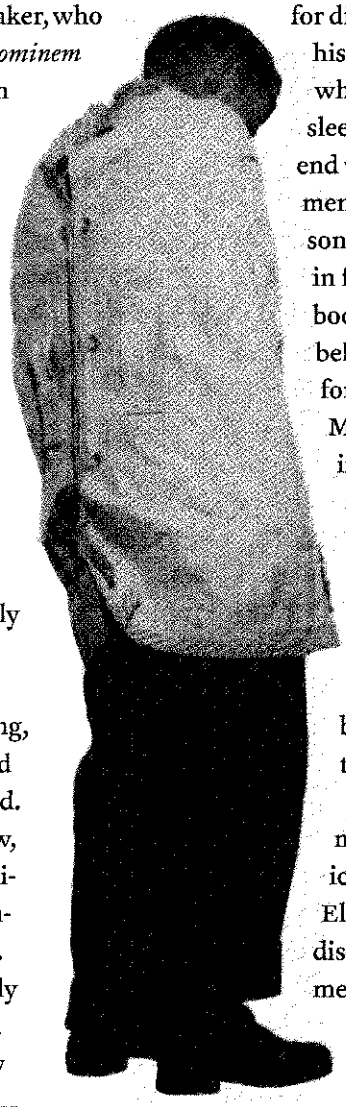
Whitaker traces the turns in psychiatric theory and practice through American history, referring when necessary to European trends that were quickly imported here. We meet Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the father of American psychiatry (whose image is still on the seal of the American Psychiatric Association). Rush, who thought mental illnesses were caused by circulatory defects, believed bloodletting (up to four-fifths of a patient's blood) and spinning patients on a board were appropriate treatments. He was also ahead of his time in concern for the rights of American Negroes, convinced that they were white under their disfiguring leprosy. (Whitaker, who assiduously avoids *ad hominem* attacks, doesn't mention this.)

Whitaker connects the craze for eugenics in early-20th-century America with a shift in cultural attitudes toward the mad. They went from people in deep distress, deserving of human sympathy and aid, to diseased carriers of inferior germ plasm who needed to be strictly and forcibly segregated from normal folk, prevented from reproducing, and perhaps even wiped out for everybody's good.

As this attitude grew, the percentage of Americans in asylums quadrupled from 1880 to 1929. Was mental illness really spreading so virulently, or were asylums merely becoming more popular as places for warehousing society's presumed inferiors? Whitaker reproduces the voice of, and thus gives moral witness to, one fellow trapped in California's sterilization-obsessed mental health system in 1918: "I shall ever bemoan the fact that I shall never have a son to bear my name, to take my place, and to be a prop in my old age."

As the 20th century dawned, dunking bound patients in water was still state-of-the-art treatment. Whitaker introduces a shifting set of cutting-edge psychiatrists on his tragical history tour of American psychiatry: Henry Cotton of Trenton State Hospital in New Jersey, who theorized that germs from tooth rot caused insanity and established a very respectable cure rate by pulling asylum inmates' teeth, then later other body parts he decided were breeding grounds for disease (thereby killing 43 percent of his patients); the Swiss Jacob Klaesi, who discovered that inducing deep sleep with barbiturates for weeks on end was an effective cure; Harvard men John Talbott and Kenneth Tillotson, who found that binding patients in freezing cold blankets until their body temperature fell 10 to 20 degrees below normal was quite therapeutic for the mentally ill; the Viennese Manfred Sakel, the father of induced insulin comas as therapy; and the Hungarian Ladislas von Meduna, who added metrazol to the psychiatric pharmacopoeia. (It possessed the therapeutic property of inducing "a convulsion so severe it could fracture bones, tear muscles, and loosen teeth.")



Then we reach the zenith of mid-20th-century psychiatric medicine: electroshock and lobotomy. Electroshock was based on the (now discredited) theory that seizures and mental illnesses were somehow opposite, so inducing one eliminated the other. Lobotomy derived from

words-per-page basis, modern readers are getting less and less advice. The stagnation of the advice itself, along with Emperor's New Titles like *The Simple Abundance Workbook* (which is mostly blank pages), makes it easy to think, as many do, that self-improvement is a racket, a kind of page-bound snake oil. (On the bright side, self-help books epitomize the best of what America has to offer, both in the sense that success seems possible to so many and that so many have become successful by selling advice.)

Dr. Laura and Dr. Phil define themselves against most touchy-feely patent medicine literature. Dr. Laura rails against "the psychology articles and experts working feverishly to exorcise the world of guilt," because guilt is "a good emotional sign that something is wrong." Similarly, Dr. Phil thinks the "'self-empowerment' industry" is "largely unfocused, lazy, gimmicky, politically correct, and, above all, marketable." Such postures befit their radical renegotiations of the whole "I'm OK, You're OK" contract.

Their emphasis on personal responsibility and on methods that "work" by the most bottom-line definition (whether in the realm of material goods or family life) contrasts helpfully with the P.C. psychobabble they each dismiss so handily. While almost every author in the self-help universe stresses the same fundamental concepts, the underlying assump- »

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the notion that damaging the frontal lobes—the center of most higher human personality and mental functions—was the key to a happy cure for madness. Portuguese neurologist Egas Moniz, developer of the lobotomy, thought that mental illness resulted from fixed thought patterns and that "to cure these patients we must destroy the more or less fixed arrangements of cellular connections that exist in the brain." Moniz won the Nobel Prize for his innovation. He was also once shot by a disgruntled patient. (Brain damage as therapy, with chemicals instead of ice picks,

A lobotomized patient may not feel any happier, but affectless, quiescent people are surely easier to deal with in an institution.

dominates psychiatry to this day.) To the extent that they could reduce you to a characterless stupor, psychiatrists thought they were on the right track.

The story of Walter Freeman, once head of the American Medical Association's certification board for neurology and psychiatry, is especially enlightening and inspirational. After years of failing to find any anatomical differences in dead human brains that could pinpoint the physical causes of madness he knew must exist, Freeman became the Johnny Appleseed of lobotomies in the 1940s. He became a roving instant brain surgeon, lining up patients in a row to jam ice picks simultaneously up both eye sockets to destroy both frontal lobes, taking less than 10 minutes per patient. The operation was a success if, in Freeman's own words (written with his partner James Watts), the patient was "adjusting at the level of a domestic invalid or household pet."

Whitaker shows how little evidence of therapeutic quality there could have been for any of these theories, practices, and beliefs—except in one respect. They served the interests not of the patient but of the doctor or caretaker. A lobotomized patient may not feel any happier, but affectless, quiescent people are surely easier to deal with in an institution.

The abuses of psychiatry are rooted in the fact that the doctor-patient relationship is frequently not one of service provider to customer but all too often a hegemonic one, with the doctor forcing treatments on the patient. Although no one keeps set figures on this, by cobbling together available sources it is safe to say that even today well more than half a million Americans a year are under the care (and control) of a psychiatrist by law rather than by personal choice. As Whitaker is not the first to note (see the writings of Michel Foucault or of **reason** Contributing Editor Thomas Szasz), the history of psychiatry fits more comfortably in the history of penology than of medicine.

Defenders of psychiatry argue that things have changed. Such historical unpleasantness says no more about psychiatry today than bloodletting and pre-anesthetic surgery say about standard medicine. Constant changes in theories of etiology and cure no more condemn psychiatric science than outdated theories of phlogiston or ether discredit chemistry or physics.

But Whitaker has just gotten started when he hits the modern, chemical era of psychiatric medicine. When the first modern psychiatric wonder drug, chlorpromazine (Thorazine), was introduced in France in 1950, it was as an anesthetic. It produced a "vegetative syndrome" such that you could do whatever you wanted with patients and they wouldn't complain. Within a few years, the wonders of the psychiatric complex's P.R.—and its hunger for new treatments that justified psychiatry as a bona fide medical discipline, with medicines that cured ailments—had completely recast Thorazine in the eyes of physicians and the public.

The Thorazine fad spread, aided, as Whitaker documents, by credulous popular media reports and paid-for research from drug companies. It was soon joined by fluphenazine (Prolixin) and haloperidol (Haldol). Whitaker tells not just medical history but social and cultural history, tracing how these drugs are hyped and sold. All the emphasis in medical journals on how Thorazine caused motor dysfunction and induced Parkinson's disease–like syndromes gave way to praise for the latest psychiatric miracle.

A new theory of the cause of madness again followed the treatment: Madness was now the result of excessive dopamine levels, since the new wave of "neuroleptic" drugs begun with Thorazine blocked dopamine reception. (The section of the book detailing the damage these drugs do to your nigrostriatal, mesolimbic, and mesocortical systems are not for the squeamish.) Now the dopamine theory, too, is passing into the psychiatric dustbin (though still widely believed by laypeople). Whitaker cites studies finding that schizophrenics who haven't been drugged do not show higher dopamine levels than non–mentally-ill controls, and that

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any apparent increase in dopamine receptors in schizophrenics follows, not precedes, the use of neuroleptic drugs.

Just as with electroshock, lobotomy, insulin coma shock, and dunking, psychiatrists reported many successes with dopamine blockers. But again, that success was mostly in producing tractable zombies who didn't pose problems for their caretakers or families. As to whether the drugs solved problems for the patient, that isn't so certain. While some patients may love what these neuroleptic drugs do for them, Whitaker presents the testimony of many who hate them—voices usually ignored by the psychiatric establishment.

He quotes Anil Fahini, speaking before a Senate subcommittee in 1975, saying that standard psychiatric drugs led to "the most fatalistic and despairing moments I've had on this planet. The only way I can describe the despair is that my consciousness was being beaten back....They prevent you from carrying on thought processes. They hold you in a tight circle of thoughts that never find fulfillment, that never find freedom of expression." Whitaker provides many testimonies of this sort.

Whitaker notes that by the mid-1980s, after decades of using these drugs allegedly to cure schizophrenia, "a fairly clear profile of the long-term course of 'medicated schizophrenia' had emerged in the medical literature. The drugs made people chronically ill, more prone to violence and criminal behavior, and more socially withdrawn. Permanent brain damage and early death were two other consequences of neuroleptic use."

As ever in the history of psychiatry, some new now-we've-really-got-it cure came along in time to replace one whose flaws were getting too hard to hide. Clozapine, olanzapine, and risperidone became the new wonder drugs for mental illness. Whitaker stresses that official drug testers are more or less in cahoots with the drug companies trying to find the next market-dominating medicine, leading to exaggerated or misleading praise for new drugs. (In market terms, the real "consumer" of these drugs tends to be the doctor who chooses what to prescribe, not the person actually consuming them, so the success of these drugs doesn't prove they meet the needs of users.) Whitaker presents plenty of evidence indicating that these new antipsychotics, known as the "atypicals," are probably no more safe or effective in the long term than the older neuroleptics they are replacing. The cogency of the evidence supporting most psychiatric cures is called powerfully into question throughout the book.

Mad in America is not just a hopeless story of unabated psychiatric abuse. Whitaker also touches on a subterranean alternate history of dealing with madness, bred from the early innovations of concerned Quakers in England and America. Men such as Thomas Kirkbride ran institutions, such as the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, dedicated to "moral treatment." This involved treating patients as human beings who needed care, solicitude, and a normal amount of discipline—discipline that demanded they clean up after themselves and dress and behave like civilized people, as opposed to the kind that whipped them or strapped them to chairs.

Unfortunately, the very demand for more public asylums ginned up by do-gooders like Dorothea Dix in the mid-19th century led to the medicalization and professionalization of mental institutions. But moral treatment, heresy to the medicalized psychiatry of the late 20th century (since it doesn't require an elite guild of M.D.s to administer it), still resurfaced occasionally.

Whitaker describes a fascinating experiment in the early 1970s called the Soteria Project,

tions about who the reader is and what he wants are so far away from how Phil and Laura see their readers, Deepak and company may as well be on one of Mr. Gray's distant planets.

Above all, readers of Chopra, Marianne (*A Return to Love*) Williamson, and the like want extended, improbable metaphors and sentimental, pan-denominational fake spirituality. Their readers want less to change themselves than to change how they feel about themselves. The two most common aphorisms in the typical modern self-help book are "learn to love yourself" and "wealth won't make you happy."

Try laying that wisdom down on Dr. Phil, or to a listener of Dr. Laura. Neither would go so far as to say you have to be rich to be happy, but neither would put money very far down on the list of things that would help. As for "loving oneself," that isn't nearly as important as being honest with yourself. Or, at the very least, as Dr. Phil and Dr. Laura being honest with you.

And you suck. ■

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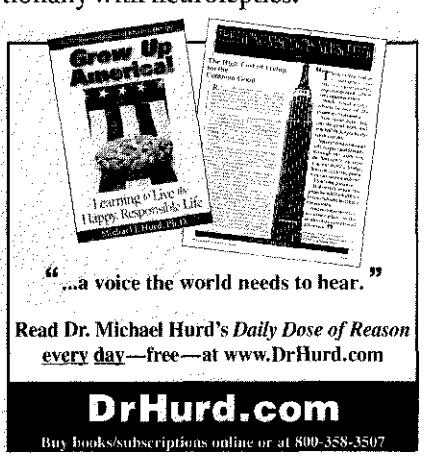
in which people diagnosed as acutely ill schizophrenics were kept off drugs and treated humanely by nonmedical caretakers. The patients were held to basic standards of decent behavior and made to do chores in an environment more like a disciplined summer camp (or a well-run college group home) than a madhouse or hospital.

Researchers found that "psychotic symptoms had abated in the Soteria patients to the same degree as in medicated patients. Even more striking, the Soteria patients were staying well longer. Relapse rates were lower for the Soteria group at both one-year and two-year follow-ups. The Soteria patients were also functioning better socially—better able to hold jobs and attend schools."

Picked at ruthlessly by influential psychiatrists, project leader Loren Mosher, a former director of the Center for Schizophrenic Studies at the National Institute of Mental Health, lost his NIMH money. Soteria faded from memory. The most recent study of the Soteria data, done by researchers with no hand in the experiment itself, found that "only 31 percent of Soteria patients who continued to avoid neuroleptics...relapsed during a two-year follow-up period, compared to 68 percent of those treated conventionally with neuroleptics."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Whitaker does not frame his attack on psychiatric practices with a fully formed, radical critique of the entire psychiatric project. Although many of the chilling anecdotes he tells raise the question, he does not stress the idea that standard psychiatry might simply be wrong about what it's dealing with. Thomas Szasz, a corrosive skeptic of the view that so-called mental illnesses are always the result of biological ailments such that the sufferers should be relieved of both responsibility and liberty, declares openly that mental illness is a myth. By showing us the crimes that psychiatrists have defined as cures, Whitaker raises disturbing questions about psychiatry's founding definitions. But because he rarely raises the question of exactly what behaviors got people condemned to mental institutions, he may give psychiatry's notions of illness more credence than they deserve.

More cautious, or more circumspect, than Szasz, Whitaker merely writes that "the American belief that schizophrenics necessarily suffered from a biological brain disorder, and thus needed to be on drugs for life, wasn't true." Whitaker, lacking the professional need to assert known causes and cures that drives psychiatry, is willing to say that the jury is still out on the real nature of the problems that psychiatry deals with. But he's sure that the methods it has used to deal with them have been, and continue to be, mistaken, frequently with tragic consequences.

Psychiatry throughout its history has blithely relied on the gambler's wisdom that you can't beat something with nothing. It thus comes up with a continual series of absurdities and abuses disguised as therapy, only openly admitting the failures of the previous "therapy" once a new one materializes. But contrary to popular belief, psychiatrists still don't know what causes schizophrenia, don't know how to cure it, and in fact don't even seem to know what it is. (Whitaker recounts experiments showing that psychiatrists are easily confused about how to properly diagnose this centerpiece mental illness.)

This book's message, delivered artfully and intelligently, is that there have been hundreds of thousands of Jonika Uptons—victims of psychiatric pretensions and controls—and that there still are today, despite the industry's consistent insistence that it finally has the right cure. Psychiatry may very well be the arena where an elite guild with cultural power has done the greatest amount of damage by lording it over powerless individuals. Whitaker's book does a singular service in reminding us that authority of all sorts—medical, state, or the unholy combination of both that has frequently defined psychiatry—is always in danger of shifting into tyranny.

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Maple Leaf Rag

Does Canada matter?

Jeremy Lott

The Friendly Dictatorship, by Jeffrey Simpson, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 238 pages, $25.95

By now, you may have forgotten about Joe, the flannel-clad twenty-something whose 30-second stump speech on behalf of all things Canadian delighted viewers in his native country. Joe's speech, delivered in an ad for Molson beer with a maple leaf flag in the background, was almost unavoidable in the spring of 2000:

"Hey, I am not a lumberjack or fur trader, and I don't live in an igloo or eat blubber or own a dog sled and I don't know Jimmy, Sally, or Suzie from Canada, although I am certain they're really, really nice. I have a prime minister, not a president; I speak English and French, not American; and I pronounce it 'about,' not 'aboot.' I can proudly sew my country's flag on my backpack. I believe in peacekeeping, not policing; diversity, not assimilation; and that the beaver is a truly proud and noble animal. A toque is a hat, a chesterfield is a couch, and it's pronounced *zed*, not *zee*, *zed*! Canada is the second largest landmass, and the first nation of hockey, and the best part of North America. My name is Joe, and I am Canadian! Thank you."

Audiences loved it. Beer sales shot up, Molson was besieged with requests for copies of the video short, and the *National Post* declared that Jeff Douglas, the Nova Scotian who played Joe, was a "national treasure." Having been on the ground at the time—in British Columbia—I can attest to the visceral impact of what I at first thought was a joke. Joe quickly become an icon of that quirky thing known as Canadian nationalism. Heritage Minister Sheila Copps even aired his rant at the Congress for International Press Institute in Boston.

Interviewed in the Canadian edition of *Time*, Douglas maintained that, while he was paid to deliver the rant, he believed every word of it. The follow-up was priceless:

Time: "So you really believe the beaver is 'proud and noble'?"

Douglas: "There is a type of nobility about the animal...."

And then market forces set in. Hollywood took notice of Douglas and began to send the appropriate signals. Because of lower tax rates, a warmer climate, and more opportunities, many Canadians—especially young Canadians—with skills, money, or ambition tend to flow south at the drop of a hat. The brain drain has become so pervasive that the newsmagazine *Maclean's* recently ran a cover story featuring "fifty people who chose Canada."

Jeff Douglas was not among them. Over the objections of his fellow countrymen, many of whom—I am not making this up—petitioned the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board to make him stay, Douglas moved to Los Angeles in 2001. He then backed out of plans to return to star in an Edmonton production of *Romeo and Juliet*. He told *Time* that if Canadians were having a hard time making the adjustment, "they can keep Joe and let Jeff go. Joe will never leave Canada."

Douglas is hardly the only prominent Canadian to move south. (As I wrote this review, the Canadian-born comedian Jim Carrey applied for U.S. citizenship, telling the Associated Press that the United States "defined me.... This country allowed my dreams to come true.") But the Douglas story captures the Canadian predicament, and it does so in a way that *Globe and Mail* columnist Jeffrey Simpson's new book, *The Friendly Dictatorship*, ultimately fails to do. Canada is not just a nation in decline. There is a real question as to what even makes it a nation.

Although Canada is nominally Catholic (and Anglican), religion, official or otherwise, does not give Canadians a set of issues to argue over, as

> Often, the only articulation of what defines a Canadian comes in the form of one loud, sustained negative statement: *We are not Americans!*

it does for Americans. Instead of promoting a common tongue, the government enforces a rigid policy of bilingualism. This is mocked with great aplomb in Michael Moore's movie *Canadian Bacon*, in which police officer Dan Aykroyd forces John Candy to rewrite anti-Canadian graffiti in French, then fines him "$1,000 Canadian, or $10 American, if you prefer." (Incidentally, both Aykroyd and Candy were born in Canada.)

The Canadian military is too small and ineffective to generate much centripetal force, having long since retreated behind America's good will, large military, and nuclear umbrella. Compare the American and Canadian militaries in the company of most Canadians, and they tend to fall back on the fact that the last »

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Sphere of Influence

Sputnik's lingering effects

Charles Paul Freund

WAS *SPOTNIK*, THAT beeping little beachball-sized sphere that so surprised the West in 1957, really "the shock of the century"? That might be a bit much, despite the subtitle hype of Paul Dickson's recent cultural history, *Sputnik: The Shock of the Century* (Walker & Co.). But a huge shock it surely was, and it's instructive, here in a quite different world—one still reverberating from the collapse of the World Trade Center towers—to recall both *Sputnik*'s shock and *Sputnik*'s consequences. They have something to teach us about the cultural reaction to catastrophe.

How big a deal was *Sputnik*? Pretty big. You remember how Orson Welles dies in the opening scene of *Citizen Kane*? How a snow globe drops from his hand as he sighs the famously confessional "Rosebud"? Well, when the last of the early baby boomers goes, it won't be surprising if he or she too sighs a revealing last recognition of childhood's end. Not "Beatles." Not "'Nam." Not "Dealey Plaza."

"*Sputnik!*" It mobilized boomers' minds and imaginations for political ends.

When the Soviets launched the first man-made satellite in October 1957—ahead of America's planned *Vanguard*—it didn't actually *do* anything but fly and emit its beeping signals. It couldn't see or hear anything. It wasn't a military threat. But just *being* up there, circling over everybody's head all day long (and at certain times visible to the naked Western eye), was enough to have major consequences. The first such consequence was to lend credibility to the Soviets as more than a potential military or political threat. *Sputnik* gave them scientific credibility; it gave them a potential role in the future and thus made that future much more threatening (even assuming no nuclear exchanges) than it had seemed.

The other consequence had to do with the West's idea of itself. *Sputnik* turned the West into a community of guilt-ridden flagellants in much the way the Black Plague had affected medieval Europeans. What *Sputnik* demonstrated, supposedly, was that we were a soft, sinful, and stupid people. Dickson quotes a historian's jeremiad from 1962, charging that Americans "had been experiencing the world crisis from soft seats of comfort, debauched by [the] mass media... pandering for selfish profit to the lowest level of our easy appetites, fed full of toys and gewgaws, our power, our manpower softened in will and body in a climate of amusement."

We needed toughening in mind and spirit, such prophets raged. But what we needed most were more scientists. Rocket man (and ex-Nazi) Wernher von Braun called for a new kind of warrior, one armed with a slide rule. Enter the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA), whose goal was to bring "American education to levels consistent with the needs of our society." Or, more plainly, to reshape American students to futures consistent with the national political agenda.

Sputnik found American education in a debate over ends. Many educators were calling for a return to memorization, drill, and "basics." The satellite redirected that debate; in its wake, American schooling was to be about thinking "creatively," especially about science. That meant hastily assembling courses about the "New Math," courses that teachers themselves often didn't understand. It meant taking the brightest students and tracking them through advanced classes, almost always science classes.

This was a civic revolution. Pre-war American schools don't deserve romanticizing; they turned out plenty of ill-educated graduates and served many minority and poor students very badly. But they had a hidden virtue: They made few decisions about their (middle-class male) students that had lifelong consequences. This was in marked contrast to most of the world's miserable schools, which limited students' lives almost from the beginning by deciding what kind of life to prepare them for. The American approach didn't guarantee anything, but it removed an impediment that hobbled everyone else. The NDEA, in contrast, was an experiment in creating citizens the state wanted.

It didn't last long enough to succeed or fail. The U.S. space program soon asserted itself; the Soviets are gone. School tracking systems were assailed as elitist; educators are again arguing over ends.

Not that *Sputnik* didn't leave its mark. Indirectly, the Internet is one. A permanent federal role in education is another. So is the template of federal rescue in the shadow of threat. And so are the fading memories of those one-time students who were made to trade their Slinkys for slide rules and who were taught, briefly, citizenship in set theory. ■

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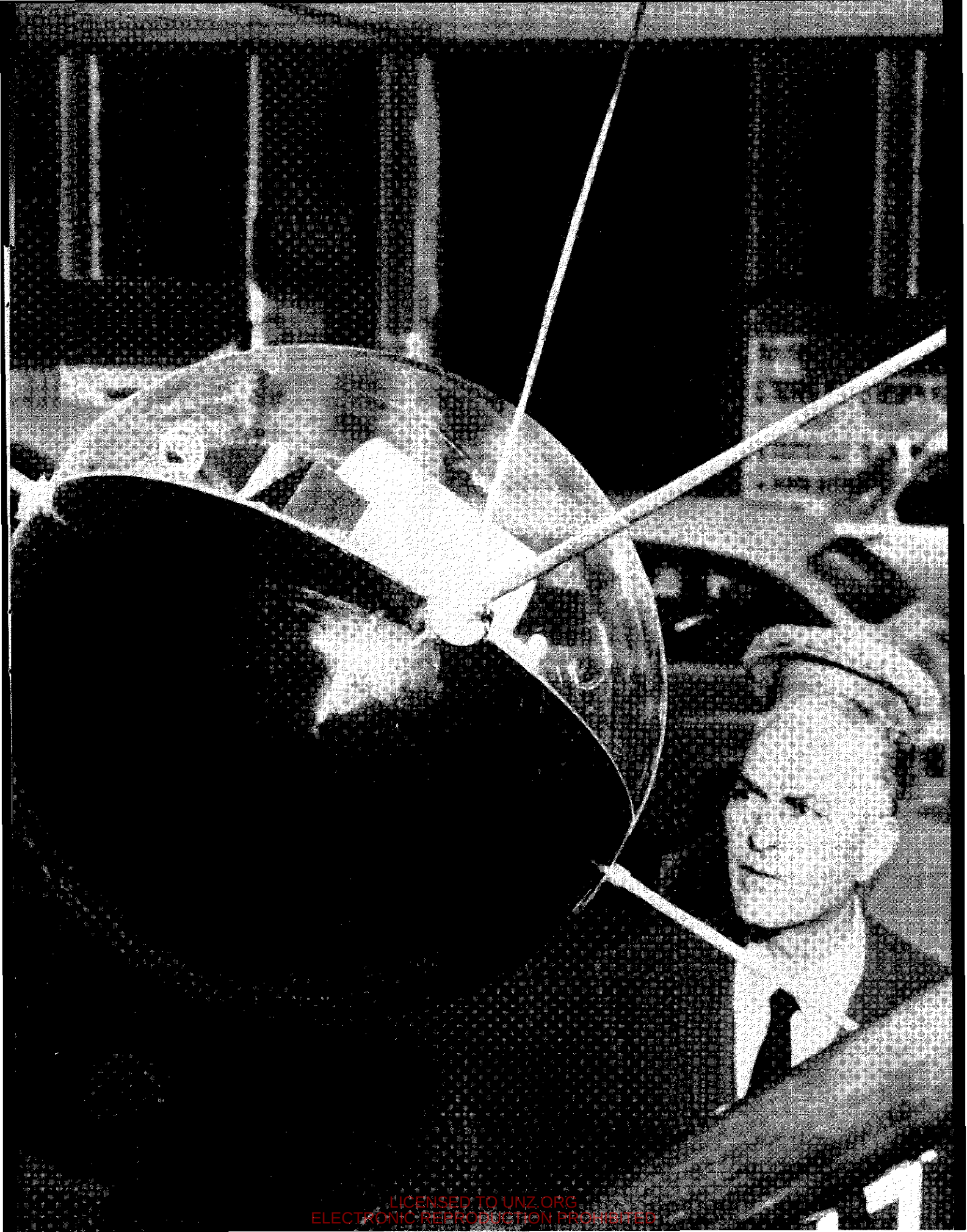

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› time the two forces met, the Canucks won—in the War of 1812.

Simpson writes: "Canada was, in essence, a political creation. It did not arise, as some European countries did, as a political reflection of a common language or religion. Its boundaries did not emerge from war or from monastic dynasties. It was not a natural outgrowth of economic links. Canada was, and remains, above all a political statement, requiring the reconciling of sometimes deep divergences into something approximating a national whole."

But if that is so, it's worth asking, what *is* the statement? Or, to be more fair, what common sentiment holds Canadians together as a people? America, as fractious as it can sometimes be, can turn that vice into a virtue by pointing back to the Declaration of Independence's praise for "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The ink on Canada's equivalent document, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, has barely dried. (It was not adopted until 1982.) More to the point, its logic—which blends individual and group rights, positive and negative freedoms, into one strange brew—is horribly muddled. (A recent human rights tribunal weighed the freedoms of speech and religion of a man who took out an anti-gay advertisement in the Saskatoon *Star Phoenix* against the "equality rights" of homosexuals. Verdict: The man and the *Star Phoenix* each had to pay three gays $1,500 and could never publish such an advertisement again.)

Often, as with the Molson ad, the only articulation of what makes Canadians Canadian comes in the form of one loud, sustained negative statement: *We are not Americans!* Variations on this theme include blanket condemnations of American arrogance, denunciations of America's "cowboy capitalism" and love of guns, Joe's preference for "peacekeeping" over "policing," and much chest-puffing about America's mercenary medical system and the compassionate Canadian alternative.

The thing is, as Simpson makes clear, the Canadian way is no better, and it shows. Through the splintering of the Canadian right into two parties—the squishy center-right Progressive Conservatives and the populist, mostly western Canadian Alliance—Jean Chrétien's Liberal Party has won the last three elections in a walk. On its own, that might not be a bad thing, but Simpson highlights two related trends: the sharp decline in voter turnout and the increasing centralization of power in the hands of Prime Minister Chrétien.

Canada borrowed from Britain a nearly unfettered parliamentary democracy with a first-past-the-post voting system. That's a fancy way of saying that the party that wins the most districts can form a government. It also means that the winners are often determined not by a majority of the vote but by a plurality. In the last three elections, Liberals have gotten a vast majority of seats but never more than 42 percent of the votes. Electoral contests have been determined by who stayed home. In spite of this, the governments have claimed popular mandates and proceeded to "speak for Canadians" and pursue whatever policies they—that is, Jean Chrétien—pleased. With an appointed rather than elected senate, a near total control of federal appointments, the right to pick future Supreme Court justices and not have them subjected to ratification, and

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even the right to appoint his own ethics investigator, Chrétien has had the run of the house.

This amounts, as Simpson's title suggests, to a "friendly dictatorship"—a dictatorship because one man controls everything and can only be unseated with great difficulty, a friendly one because that man hasn't done a horrible job and, with one famous exception, has refrained from throttling people. (The exception occurred in 1996, when he topped off an unsuccessful speech by attacking a protestor.)

Simpson even admits, using a rational choice model of voting, that decreased participation might make sense. Unlike his predecessors, Chrétien hasn't embarked on constitutional reform, hasn't tried to grab too much power from the provinces, has politely but firmly told his fellow Quebecers that the rest of the confederation isn't entirely beholden to them, has presided over a decent economy, and has even decided recently that taxes should be cut. For a Canadian prime minister, that's a sterling record. Why rock the boat?

But the unrepentant good government advocate in Simpson simply cannot let the matter drop at that. In his telling, the Canadian government "represents the entire citizenry." His high-watt verbiage tags the state as the "crucible for shaping the rights and responsibilities, duties and laws, priorities and challenges, values and aspirations—in short, the overall framework of society." Seeing such an institution reduced in respect and importance is simply too painful for him to bear.

Simpson thus proposes a slate of reforms to get people voting again: a British-style civil service, an independently appointed ethics investigator, an elected senate with staggered terms, multiple-preference ballots to ensure majority support, campaign finance reform to shake off those dreaded special interests, and guaranteed representation for the First Nation aboriginals. But he ignores the one type of voting that has already seen a marked increase. Given the current state of Canada—with its defensive culture, fossilized institutions, deferential habits, and ever-sliding Canadian dollar—many Canucks, like Jeff Douglas, have been using a much more effective ballot: the one cast with their feet.

September 11 may have changed all this. In his book's most accidentally prophetic passage, Simpson laments that "there is no one, sweeping reform that can reverse the trends of disengagement overnight." A change of leadership, however, might shake things up. Or, failing that, "there could be an international crisis." The planes that crashed into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon instantly slowed the flow of people and trade across the Canadian-U.S. border. Canada plunged into its first recession in almost a decade, and the drop in gross domestic output between August and September was the worst since 1986.

Chrétien's Liberals fear the vengeance the Canadian electorate might exact on them if the recession is prolonged. This fear has led to a series of radical but seriously considered proposals, including a harmonization of Canadian and U.S. immigration laws, arresting the Canadian currency's fall by pegging it to the U.S. dollar, and having Canada's spies report to the U.S. authorities. The whole package would add up, in Commons Finance Chair Maurizio Bevilacqua's words, to "a truly integrated economic unit." The "unit"—note the singular—that he refers to is Canada and the U.S.

If this package of proposals does not get hobbled, watch for it, like free trade, to become the tail that wags the dog and bashes it against the walls. The Canadian identity already consists mostly of being America's kinder, gentler, poorer neighbor. That chafes, but it makes for occasional, hilarious bouts of resentment rather than for serious nationalistic impulses. With further integration, resentment may yet turn to something even more benign. The Canadians may even decide, *ceteris paribus*, to opt in. As one headline declared during the Jeff Douglas saga, "I am... moving to the U.S."

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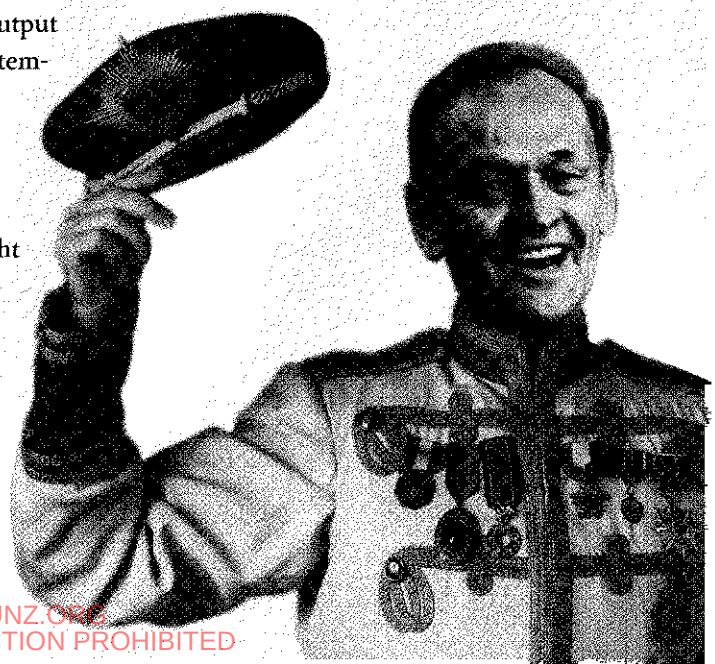

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Auto Exotica

Charles Paul Freund

GALLERIES MAY INVITE spiritual contemplation, but that often masks art's worldly meaning. This object started out as *Time* art critic Robert Hughes' rental car. The author of *The Shock of the New* and *The Fatal Shore*, Hughes' views of his native Australia have earned him a reputation there for pomposity. During a 1999 visit, Hughes was in a controversial crash; he's still sought for an inquiry.

Melbourne artist Danius Kesminas later bought the compacted car, festooned it with Hughes' work, titled it "Hughbris," and put it in a Perth show—*Elvis Has Left the Building*—about modern myths. Kesminas had used art to attack the art critic as a "self-mythologizer."

Remarkably, Hughes has legitimized the attack. He now claims that while recovering from his crash injuries, he hallucinated being tortured by Francisco Goya (1746–1828), famous for atrocity images. The real Hughes was struggling to write a book about Goya; the dream Goya was out to stop him.

There's more. Hughes has now published the book, arguing that Goya's claims to have witnessed the atrocities he depicted are lies. More revenge? Who knows? But now we have a two-century art narrative involving atrocity, torture, hallucinations, injury, anger, and revenge. Something to contemplate.

Danius Kesminas, "Hughbris," 2002

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Bureaucracy and School Leadership

Chester E. Finn Jr. is a distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education; and president, Thomas B. Fordham Foundation.

Nothing matters more to an organization's success than the quality of its leadership, and nowhere is that clearer than in public education. Twenty years of research have shown that effective schools nearly always have strong principals and that successful school systems nearly always employ effective superintendents. Yet **there are not nearly enough qualified people to lead some 91,000 public schools and nearly 15,000 school systems.**

What challenges do they—and we—face in trying to get more strong leaders for U.S. schools? The policy research organization Public Agenda recently set about to answer that question. It surveyed 1,800 principals and superintendents. The results are fascinating, sobering, and fraught with policy implications. Key findings include the following:

1. "Superintendents and principals . . . voice confidence that they can improve public education, but say their effectiveness is hampered by politics and bureaucracy." Four-fifths of superintendents and half the principals cite that as the main reason talented people vacate those roles. Among their foremost gripes: excessive litigation, "teacher union fanatics," and school board meddling.

2. "What superintendents and principals need most, they say, is more freedom to do their jobs as they see fit—especially the freedom to reward and fire teachers." Fewer than one-third say they have the autonomy and authority either to "reward outstanding teachers and staff" or to "remove ineffective teachers from the classroom." (By contrast, four-fifths say they have the freedom to deal with student discipline.)

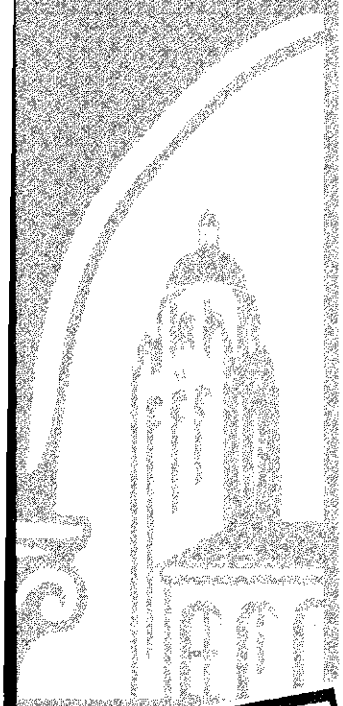
3. "School leaders are far less worried about standards and accountability than about politics and bureaucracy." Although principals and superintendents have multifarious complaints about standardized testing as used in their districts—and superintendents are far more bullish about test-based accountability arrangements than are principals—they're much more bothered by the shackles on their wrists.

4. They are concerned about money. Yet almost three-quarters say they can manage with the budgets that they have. Most vexing on the resource front are external mandates that limit their ability to spend those budgets as they think best. The worst offender is special education for disabled youngsters. "According to 84 percent of superintendents and 65 percent of principals . . . special education issues exact an inordinate amount of district money and other resources."

5. Administrators believe that today's university-based training programs for "school leaders" are not adequate. Sixty-nine percent of principals and 80 percent of superintendents say such programs are "out of touch with the realities of what it takes to run today's schools." One principal commented, **"If you want more qualified superintendents, change the focus of prep programs from making researchers to creating practitioners."**

Public Agenda president Deborah Wadsworth concludes this report on an upbeat note, observing that the most remarkable quality of today's public school administrators is their "optimism and confidence." Still, one can hardly read this pathbreaking survey without recognizing that finding executives able to lead U.S. schools out of their present quagmire would be a whole lot easier if we'd agree to cut the red tape and really put them in charge. Charter schools, anyone?

— Chester E. Finn Jr.



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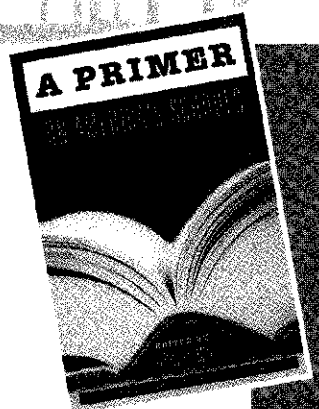

Want to learn more about K–12 education policy?

Visit us on-line at* www.hoover.org *or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of* A Primer on America's Schools*—11 chapters by Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

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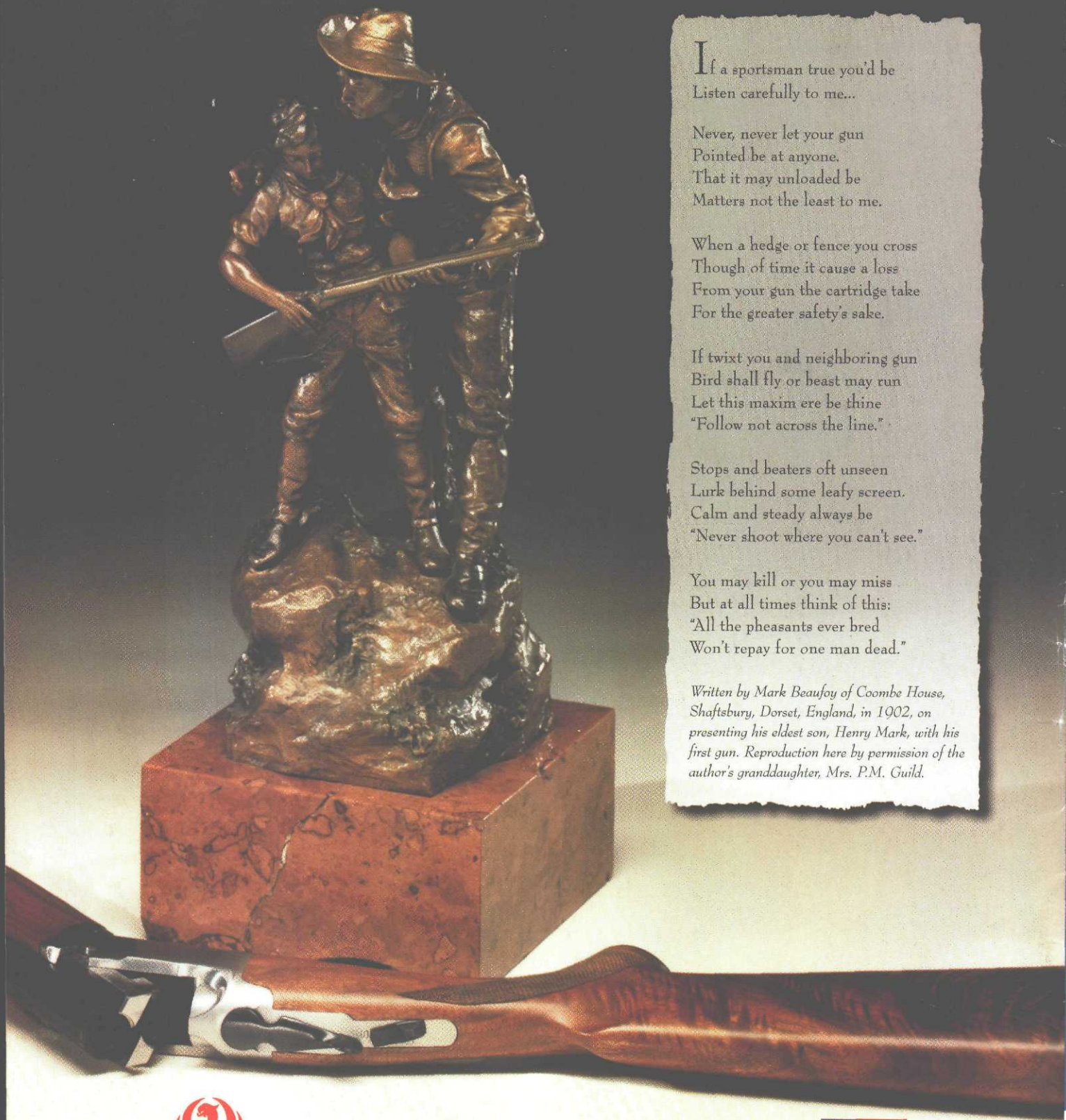
A Father's Advice



If a sportsman true you'd be
Listen carefully to me...

Never, never let your gun
Pointed be at anyone.
That it may unloaded be
Matters not the least to me.

When a hedge or fence you cross
Though of time it cause a loss
From your gun the cartridge take
For the greater safety's sake.

If twixt you and neighboring gun
Bird shall fly or beast may run
Let this maxim ere be thine
"Follow not across the line."

Stops and beaters oft unseen
Lurk behind some leafy screen.
Calm and steady always be
"Never shoot where you can't see."

You may kill or you may miss
But at all times think of this:
"All the pheasants ever bred
Won't repay for one man dead."

Written by Mark Beaufoy of Coombe House, Shaftsbury, Dorset, England, in 1902, on presenting his eldest son, Henry Mark, with his first gun. Reproduction here by permission of the author's granddaughter, Mrs. P.M. Guild.

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